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ABSTRACT

This document contains six papers exploring emerging viewpoints, issues, and trends related to mentoring and adult learning. "Mentoring: From Athena to the 21st Century" (Catherine A. Hansman) traces the definitions of the term "mentor" and mentoring practices that have evolved since antiquity. "Emerging Perspectives on Mentoring: Fostering Adult Learning and Development" (Vivian M. Mott) examines the transformative nature of mentoring relationships, the limitations of mentoring relationships, personal narratives of several mentored professionals, and the promise of mentoring. "Mentoring in Contexts: The Workplace and Educational Institutions" (Andrea D. Ellinger) discusses the different contexts in which mentoring occurs and reviews recent research on mentoring in workplaces and educational institutions. "Telementoring: Shaping Mentoring Relationships for the 21st Century" (Talmadge Guy) defines telementoring, explains how it has been affected by technology, presents models of telementoring in schools and work organizations, and considers sociocultural and demographic factors affecting telementoring. "Diversity and Power in Mentoring Relationships" (Catherine A. Hansman) discusses the importance of mentoring for members of marginalized groups, including women and members of racial and ethnic minorities. "Facing Forward: Implications for Practice and Suggestions for

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Future Research" (Catherine A. Hansman) presents the story of a reluctant mentor and considers its implications for practice and research. (Contains 191 references.) (MN)

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Critical Perspectives on Mentoring

Trends and Issues

edited by
Catherine A. Hansman

Vivian W. Mott Andrea D. Ellinger Talmadge Guy

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ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education

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Critical Perspectives on Mentoring: Trends and Issues

Information Series No. 388

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The chapters in this volume explore emerging viewpoints, issues, and trends related to mentoring and adult learning. The authors adopt a critical perspective intended to develop an understanding of mentoring's potential to enhance as well as hinder learning in adulthood.

Vivian Mott examines the role of mentoring in adult learning and development by discussing definitions and models of mentoring, its psychosocial and developmental benefits, transformative potential, and limitations.

Andrea Ellinger reviews research on mentoring in the contexts of the workplace and educational institutions, identifying parallel developments in the literature.

Talmadge Guy describes the growing phenomenon of telementoring, which can enable mentoring relationships that are not otherwise possible, but which can be subject to the same limitations as other online communication. The implications of unequal access to technology on telementoring are also addressed.

Catherine Hansman takes up the issues of diversity and power in mentoring, examining the impact on women and people of color of mentoring by persons with the same or different characteristics and backgrounds.

In the concluding chapter, Hansman presents implications for practice and suggestions for further research.

Information on mentoring and adult development may be found in the ERIC database using the following descriptors—*Adult Development, *Cultural Pluralism, Gender Issues, Internet, *Interprofessional Relationship, *Mentors, Race; and the identifiers Power Relations and *Telementoring. Asterisks indicate terms that are particularly relevant.

Mentoring: From Athena to the 21st Century

Catherine A. Hansman

> Greek god. Coach. Teacher. Guide. Pathfinder. Leader. Pilot. Advisor. Supporter. Counselor. Director. Sponsor. Conductor. Caretaker. Friend.

All these words reflect notions that seem to fit various definitions and ideas of our mentors. Perhaps the most acknowledged root of the ideas and definitions surrounding the concept of mentor is the well-known story from Greek mythology: Odysseus, leaving for battle, asked his female friend, the goddess of wisdom Athena, to take on the male form of Mentor to watch and guide his son Telemachus while he was away (Homer 1967). Thus, a name was given for beneficial people in our lives, and the themes encompassing mentors as helpful teachers were brought into consciousness. These conceptions of mentors have continued through the centuries and are reflected in the many definitions of mentors and in expectations of mentoring relationships.

Just uttering the word "mentor" may bring to mind images of supportive people in the past or present who have assisted us and continue to sustain us in our professional and personal lives. But "mentoring is a slippery concept" declares Patricia Cross (1999) in her foreword to Daloz's second edition of ***Mentor: Guiding the Journey of Adult Learners***. Indeed, a search through the mountains of literature and research concerning mentoring reveals differing definitions for the term. Levinson et al. (1978) defined a mentor as "teacher, advisor, or sponsor" (p. 97), leaving the term open to personal or professional connotation. Daloz (1999) gives mentors mystical powers, declaring that "mentors give us the magic that allows us to enter the darkness; a talisman to protect us from evil spells, a gem of wise advice, a map, and sometimes simply courage" (p. 18). Others choose to define mentors as helping more with professional life, such as Ragins (1997b), who describes mentors as people with advanced experiences and knowledge who are willing and, in most cases, committed to providing upward mobility and support to their protégés' career development. Sands, Parson, and Duane (1992) add the idea of nurturing to their definition of a mentor: "professional guide who nurtures and promotes the learning and success of his or her protégé" (p. 124). Cohen (1995) describes mentoring as a one-to-one relationship; in order for the relationship to evolve, he prescribes a series of recommended hierarchical steps for the mentoring dyad.

The differing definitions of mentors reflect the various characteristics that seem to define informal and formal mentoring relationships. Informal mentoring relationships are psychosocial mentoring relationships, enhancing protégés' self-esteem and building confidence through interpersonal dynamics, emotional bonds, mutual discovery of common interests, and relationship building (Kram and Isabella 1985). Formal mentoring relationships, in contrast, are generally organized and sponsored by workplaces or professional organizations; a formal process matches mentors and protégés for the purpose of building careers.

Mentoring relationships have been recognized as contributing to the psychosocial development of individuals (Caffarella and Olson 1993; Daloz 1986, 1999; Kram 1983). For protégés, involvement in a mentoring relationship has been associated with career enhancement, promotions, higher job satisfaction, and larger incomes (Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000). Mentors also seem to gain from these relationships: Erickson (1982) discusses the selflessness of mentors and the generativity achieved by them through their involvement with their protégés.

However mentors, protégés, and mentoring relationships are defined or explained, in the latter half of the 20th century, research and prescriptive practice ideas concerning mentoring and formal mentoring programs were frequently published. In the 1990s, more than 500 articles concerning mentoring were published in popular and academic journals (Allan and Johnston 1997). The ERIC database contains references to thousands of articles concerning mentoring. An examination of the titles, subject lines, and abstracts of these articles and books reveals the various interests and perspectives concerning mentoring taken by researchers and authors; for example, adult learning and development, workplace learning, service learning, peer mentoring, formal and informal mentoring programs, technology in mentoring relationships, changing workplace and societal roles and expectations, and diversity and power issues in mentoring.

Until the past 15 years or so, however, few empirical studies existed concerning mentoring; most studies and articles were anecdotal in nature and uncritical, making the assumption that mentoring was a universally positive phenomena for mentors and protégés, no matter the gender, race, socioeconomic class, or ethnicity of either mentor or protégé. (See, for example, Roche 1979.) By way of illustration, Daloz's first book (1986) concerning mentoring unreservedly touts successful mentoring relationships that enrich the lives of all involved. However, in his second book, published in 1999, he gives examples of failed mentoring relationships and examines the reasons for these failures. Clearly, mentoring relationships may enriching for some but can be problematic for others, such as women and people of color.

Obviously, there are many different topics that one could pursue in a monograph on mentoring. Keeping in mind that our target audience is researchers, adult educators, human resource professionals, graduate students, adult and continuing education directors and teachers, apprenticeship training personnel, and inservice education specialists, the purpose of this monograph is to explore, from a critical perspective, emerging viewpoints, issues, and trends surrounding mentoring in adult learning. The next five chapters—

- explore the role of mentoring in adult learning and development (Mott, chapter one)
- examine research concerning mentoring in workplaces and educational institutions (Ellinger, chapter two)
- investigate the role technology plays in mentoring relationships (Guy, chapter three)
- probe the influences of power and diversity on mentoring relationships (Hansman, chapter four)
- conclude with suggestions and implications for practice (Hansman, chapter five)

What we hope to gain from this exploration is a critical view of mentoring in all its forms along with a clearer understanding of how mentoring has the potential to enhance (and perhaps at times hinder) many aspects of learning throughout adulthood.

With one foot barely in the 21st century, it is clear that mentoring programs and relationships are integrally built into many venues of learning in adulthood. What must be considered, however, is that as workplaces, educational institutions, society, and culture change, so too must mentoring relationships. As Kerka (1998) contends, "Like most institutions in a world of change, the age-old practice of mentoring is being influenced by new forms of work, technology, and learning" (p. 1). In this monograph, we take a critical stance as we hope to capture, report, discuss, and analyze current trends and issues regarding mentoring. However, we cannot possibly be inclusive of all issues surrounding mentoring. Therefore, what this monograph intends to provide is a critical lens through which we examine mentoring in its present forms, analyzing, discussing, and making suggestions concerning issues and trends related to the future of mentoring in adult, career, and vocational education.

Emerging Perspectives on Mentoring: Fostering Adult Learning and Development

Vivian Mott

From the time that Athena, goddess of wisdom, assumed the form of Mentor to look after and guide Telemachus, mentoring has been used by individuals, organizations, and societies to promote the development and learning of promising persons. As Daloz (1986) noted, "mentors, it seems have something to do with growing up, with the development of identity" (p. 19) and thus are crucial in our development and learning. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the role of mentoring in fostering adult learning and development, consider the transformative nature of mentoring relationships, critically examine the embedded assumptions and limitations of mentoring relationships, and suggest how mentoring might serve the future of adult and continuing education. As this and other chapters within this monograph show, although mentoring relationships can foster adult learning and development, the processes and outcomes of mentoring are not necessarily benign. Both mentors and protégés, as well as the organizations and institutions in which they work, must be aware of the embedded power issues and the primarily unempirical and anecdotal, if not mythical, evidence on which most mentoring programs have been grounded.

Mentoring Explored

There are many definitions and nuances of mentoring. Caffarella (1992) defined it clearly as an "intense caring relationship in which persons with more experience work with less experienced persons to promote both professional and personal development" (p. 38). In his landmark text on effective mentoring, however, Daloz (1986) was more expressive in his assessment of mentors as guides who "lead us along the journey of our lives.... They embody our hopes, cast light on the way ahead, interpret arcane signs, warn us of lurking dangers, and point out unexpected delights along the way" (p. 17). As these definitions suggest, the relationships formed and the processes involved in mentoring can facilitate not only one's career but psychosocial development in adulthood as well.

Although many terms are synonymously used for mentor—guide, role model, and sponsor commonly among them—Kram (1985) and others have differentiated among these terms in important ways. Although a mentor may indeed serve as a role model and sponsor, persons in these roles often have no emotional bond with the protégé and their assistance may be purely functional, without an affective component or concern for the protégé's psychosocial development. Whatever the term, a mentor usually represents the superior characteristics, accomplishments, skills, and virtues to which the protégé aspires as a result of the mentoring relationship. As Levinson et al. (1978) noted, however, it is not the definition or terms used for mentors or mentoring that are important, but rather the "character of the relationship and the functions it serves" (p. 98).

There are a few guiding principles for effective mentoring. In order for mentoring relationships to function well, a healthy psychological climate must be maintained to provide a mutually beneficial and growth producing experience. Such a climate includes mutual trust, respect, autonomy, care, and appreciation. According to Daloz (1986, 1999), mutual trust and nonjudgmental listening are crucial to "move the [protégé's] reflections onto a level where meanings are made" (1986, p. 125). Daloz emphasized the importance of giving the protégé voice so that both mentor and protégé can see movement in perspectives and thinking, eventually introducing conflict to promote self-examination and further development of alternative perspectives. Motivation is critical throughout the mentoring relationship, as are praising positive growth, modeling appropriate professional conduct, "providing a mirror … to extend the student's self-awareness" (p. 234), and watching for signs that the relationship may be transformative and growth producing for both partners.

Many formal mentoring programs follow the often-cited model by Kram (1983, 1985). In her classic work on mentoring relationships, Kram outlined two basic mentoring functions: career and psychosocial. Career mentoring involves promotion and visibility, sponsorship, socialization, and coaching; psychosocial mentoring is more general in its role of friendship, affirmation, modeling, counseling, and support (Kram 1985). Both forms of mentoring provide valuable access to power structures and an understanding of culture in the settings or circumstances of importance to the protégés in the relationships (Ragins 1997b; Ragins and Scandura 1994). According to Kram (1983), mentoring relationships progress through a series of "four predictable, yet not entirely distinct" (p. 614) developmental phases—*initiation*, *cultivation*, *separation*, and *redefinition*. In his earlier biographical study of four well-known mentor pairs, Hobbs (1982) depicted a similar redefinition stage to include the protégé's internalization of the mentor, reflective assessment of their relationship, and the protégé's preparation to serve as mentor to someone else. In each of these phases, interaction patterns and interpersonal experiences are shaped by the individuals in the relationship and their needs, circumstances, and responses to one another.

Cohen (1995) likewise identified six behavioral functions of the mentor role, including *relationship building* and *information sharing*, a *facilitative* and then *confrontive focus* that encourage reflection and alternative thinking, *modeling*, and the prompting of a *vision* so that the protégé begins to take initiative for independent growth and learning. Cohen suggested important activities that accompany various phases of mentoring, ranging from understanding and empathetic listening in the beginning, to having high expectations and being able to motivate, and ultimately to assuming an oppositional stance in order to prompt new perspectives in later stages of the mentoring relationship. In Cohen's functions, as in Kram's (1983, 1985) and Hobbs' (1982) stages, the focus is on development of the protégé, either cognitively, psychosocially, or emotionally—growth that is promoted through enthusiasm, communication, modeling, challenging assumptions, and promotion of broadened perspectives.

The Role of Mentoring in Adult Learning and Development

Research suggests that mentoring contributes significantly to the psychosocial development of individuals (Caffarella and Olson 1993; Crosby 1999; Daloz 1986, 1999; Levinson et al. 1978; Sheehy 1995). The interconnectedness and support provided through mentoring can play a crucial role in negotiating the challenges of discontinuities, transitions, and new roles undertaken in the developmental process. A person new in a career field or life stage, for instance, can benefit from the encouragement, counsel, and shared experiences of a more experienced person who can share perspectives, ask critical questions, and provide opportunities for reflection and growth.

Like others before her, Kram (1983) noted that mentoring relationships have "great potential to facilitate … psychosocial development in both early and middle adulthood by providing a vehicle for accomplishing these primary developmental tasks" (p. 608). Levinson et al. (1978), for instance, maintained that during early adulthood the most crucial developmental function of a mentor was to facilitate the formulation and realization of a protégé's dream. Although Levinson's work in this regard focused primarily on career aspirations, mentors can also be instrumental in prompting visions for personal life goals. Levinson et al. noted that, particularly during the transition to early adulthood, a mentor might promote broadened and integrative thinking and encourage the protégé's consideration of the societal impact of one's dream. Then, in later adulthood, reappraisal becomes an important developmental dimension when mentors can help individuals come to terms with reconsidered life dreams, accomplishments, and adjusted life and career roles (Daloz 1986, 1999; Gordon and Whelan 1998; Levinson et al. 1978; Sheehy 1995).

Hansman (1998) cited some benefits of psychosocial mentoring relationships: friendship and emotional support, enhanced self-esteem and confidence, role modeling, and possible career advancement. Other research suggests that mentored individuals enjoy higher self-confidence, self-efficacy, and self-assurance (Cohen 1995; Daloz 1986, 1999; Sheehy 1995) and that mentoring can facilitate communication and interpersonal skills and identity development as well (Fleming 1996). Because of the support and encouragement, protégés develop enhanced ability to reflect, learn to examine their cognitive processes, and are more prone to assess their strengths and weaknesses. As confidence and self-assurance develop, protégés may adopt more daring and enterprising attitudes and behaviors (Daloz 1986, 1999).

Mentoring may be especially important to first-generation college students, first-generation professionals, those entering career fields dominated by persons of a different gender or race, and working-class individuals pursuing higher education or career advancement. Stalker (1996) found, for instance, that women academics in same-gender mentoring relationships enjoyed a "special connectedness" (p. 298) that may be instrumental in helping negotiate the difficult young adult stages of identity/role confusion and intimacy/isolation as theorized by Erikson (1982), as well as the later adult stages of generativity/

stagnation and ego integrity/despair. Of Erikson's eight stages of opposing dilemmas, it is in the early adult stage of identity development versus role confusion that a mentor may first play a significant role. Through modeling, listening, and encouragement, the mentor can help the protégé develop self-assurance and confidence in newly developing roles. Mentoring experiences can also be important in later adulthood as individuals negotiate one or both of Erikson's later stages, as mentors demonstrate generativity and pursue ego integrity through volunteer work, writing, or continued learning. It is in these later stages that the mentoring relationship may also be particularly valuable to the mentor as well, as the experience provides an important source of generativity and stimulates the mentor to even greater reflection and life review.

The psychosocial benefits of mentoring relationships may vary significantly, however, depending on the gender of the individuals involved. The shared experiences, empathy, and potential for deeper emotional bonds enjoyed between women mentors and protégés, for example, may not be enjoyed by male mentoring pairs, who tend to focus more on instrumental aspects and benefits of mentoring and who may be concerned with maintaining social propriety and avoiding any sexual innuendo. Ervin (1995) also noted that mentoring in an educational context could be significantly power laden, especially depending on the gender of the mentor. In Ervin's study, women graduate students' mentoring experiences were frequently marked by "fierce negotiation," infantilization, prejudicial grading, and silencing when their mentors wielded "authority over their subjects" (p. 447). In his sequel, ***The Seasons of a Woman's Life***, Levinson (1996) also countered the notion of women students being effectively mentored by teachers. Although teachers "served a few mentorial functions, enabling the student to realize specific goals, to feel appreciated, to cope with stressful situations … very few served the most crucial function of a mentorial relationship, namely, the development and articulation of the [protégé's] Dream" (p. 238). Surprisingly, however, even though few of Levinson's female subjects noted the presence of significant mentors in their early lives and careers, in later years, many were interested or actively engaged in mentoring younger colleagues. This is perhaps due to the recognition of the great value of mentors in the lives of women and their desire to provide mentoring relationships to benefit younger individuals in ways not made available to them.

Thus, as this discussion suggests, our needs for mentors change as we develop throughout adulthood; our mentors and the nature of the relationships may change as well (Gordon and Whelan 1998). Mentors assume a plethora of roles and functions, standing sometimes behind students in a supportive stance, walking ahead as a guide, engaging students face to face while listening and questioning, then finally standing "shoulder to shoulder ... as companion, ally, and [fellow] learner" (Bloom 1995, p. 64).

The developmental benefits of mentoring are significant and promising. Among the most common is the use of mentoring to promote cognitive development and intentional learning. According to English (2000), mentoring is a "complex yet informal system of learning, initiation, and ongoing support that encompasses career and psychosocial support" (p. 31), which involves mutual respect and reciprocity. Bierema's (1999) study of executive women similarly pointed to the importance of mentoring as a learning

strategy. All of the women in her study identified mentoring as critical to learning to negotiate the corporate culture. Women in the early stages of their career relied on "informal learning through relationships, mentors, peer feedback" (p. 112) as learning tactics; women more advanced in their careers agreed with the importance of mentoring in development and learning, often identifying themselves as mentors to those following in their footsteps.

Other research supports the assertion that mentors are crucial—but often missing or ineffective—for women in the workplace, especially for women whose identity was "anchored" by work. For women in many professional fields, for instance, there are few other women to serve as effective mentors and role models (Gordon and Whelan 1998; Hale 1995; Josselson 1990; Kram 1983; Ragins 1997b; Sheehy 1995). As Josselson noted, "for a woman to anchor herself importantly in work, her work has to matter to someone who matters to her.... The presence of even one person who validates the meaningfulness of her work can change an identity-distant job into an enriching and anchoring aspect of a woman's existence" (p. 177). Guy and Hansman continue this discussion of gender issues and mentoring later in this monograph.

Transformative Nature of Mentoring Relationships

Mentoring is also considered to carry a social responsibility and to have a spiritual dimension, as has long been recognized in religious traditions and various helping professions (Daloz 1999; English 1998, 2000). In academia as well, Lyons, Scroggins, and Rule (1990) found that mentors play "an almost spiritual role in the life of graduate students" (p. 278). They found that mentors not only transmitted formal academic knowledge and provided socialization experiences into their chosen discipline, but also supplied encouragement and support that bolstered the students' confidence, professional identity, and efficacy, giving them a vision of the identity they might one day achieve. Bloom (1995) also stressed the importance of mentors in an educational setting who provide support structures for reentry women whose personal or family support may be threatened by their return to formal education. Thus, mentors may provide a special advantage to individuals entering cultures other than their own. Lyon (2001) found, for instance, that friends, colleagues, family members, and neighbors, as well as hosts in the overseas cultures being entered by her American research participants, provided comfort, heightened sensitivity, and encouraged the adoption of alternative perspectives.

In her discussion of mentoring in terms of a radical humanist approach, Darwin (2000) stated that mentoring should be a reciprocal, supportive, and creative partnership of equals. Especially in peer mentoring, there is less emphasis on role-defined relationships and both parties "take risks with one another beyond their professional roles" (p. 206). Darwin suggested that mentoring relationships in the radical humanist perspective are "adult-like and interdependent ...[in which] individuals transcend roles (or create different roles) and interact as colleagues" (p. 206); thus, the relationship becomes transformative in nature.

According to Mezirow (1990) and others, mentoring can promote transformative learning and development by fostering an examination of underlying assumptions, encourag-

ing reflective engagement between mentor and protégé, providing deeper understanding of the dynamics of power in relationships, and developing more integrative thinking (Brookfield 1987; Cohen 1995; Gould 1990; Heaney and Horton 1990; Rodriguez 1995). Cohen and Galbraith (1995), for example, have noted the development and transformative power of mentoring programs by community-based groups such as Outward Bound, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts and numerous professional development centers. Gould further noted that mentoring relationships can assist individuals in negotiating changes that require new and improved attitudes and behaviors that result in "consolidating new views of reality" (p. 144).

Limitations of Mentoring Relationships

Mentoring is generally viewed as an altruistic, productive, even generative activity—good for both the mentor and protégé. However, there are limitations associated with mentoring activities and relationships. As noted earlier, mentoring processes and outcomes are power laden, frequently unexamined, and uncritically applied. Paradoxically, although women are often left out of formal mentoring programs and might benefit more from informally arranged relationships, there are fewer opportunities for women to be mentored. This is partially due to the unavailability of individuals willing and capable of serving as mentors and because women are seldom included in the informal settings where mentoring relationships are initiated, such as golf courses, private clubs, or sporting events. Unfortunately, there remain social taboos and suspicion of close relationships between mentoring partners in cross-gender mentoring relationships. Further, Daloz (1999), Kram (1985), and others have suggested additional difficulties with cross-gender mentoring, such as stereotypical assumptions regarding the importance of career and potential resentment by peers of both members in the mentoring relationship, thus limiting the psychosocial developmental potential in cross-cultural mentoring relationships (Shumate 1995). According to Crosby (1999), in all forms and instances of mentoring, "at the heart of the matter are issues of trust, comfort, and rapport [but]…. senior people might more readily act as instrumental sponsors than as psychosocial confidants for someone who differs from them on important dimensions of identity" (p. 10) such as race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, social class, or ability (ibid.; Hoyt 1999).

Many organizationally sponsored mentoring programs pair protégés with administrators or supervisors under the assumption that the senior person is in a natural position to recognize both the abilities and future promise of the person being mentored. Daresh (2001) and others, however, suggest that this may not only be disadvantageous, but also inappropriate. Although supervisors may be in a position to motivate, they may also function in an evaluative capacity with potentially punitive functions regarding the protégé's performance. Additionally, the administrative relationship may preempt the open communicative and trusting climate necessary for effective mentoring. Finally, administrators are frequently isolated from their peers, thus compromising their ability to be empathetic, supportive, and even trusted.

Although research has shown that self-chosen mentoring relationships are the most valuable and productive, there is a tendency for mentors and protégés to choose

mentoring partners most like themselves (Daloz 1999; Hale 1995). This tendency, however, may prevent the sharing of differing perspectives, compromising the full development of the protégé and limiting the learning benefit to the mentor as well.

Mentoring relationships can be difficult, even destructive, for either or both parties in the later mentoring stages of redefinition as a "battle occurs at termination" and both mentor and protégé suffer from "ambivalence and anger … gratitude and resentment" (Kram 1983, p. 609). Levinson et al. (1978) concur that, regardless of whether the relationship ends abruptly or slowly, by choice or force, both the mentor and protégé may experience emotions and reactions ranging from rejuvenation to rancor, from abandonment to liberation.

In a more serious critique of the entire issue of mentoring, Stalker (1994) challenges the androcentric and didactic nature of mentoring activities and suggests that mentoring merely perpetuates oppressive and exploitative working environments, recreating the "patriarchal academe." Hale (1995) and others note as well that formalized mentoring relationships most often function to reinforce the status quo by reproducing the disparate existing dominate power structures that mentoring seeks to make more equitable in the first place. As such, these practices may actually serve to limit individuals' potential for full psychosocial development. Stalker (1994) found that women mentors, in particular, "engage in a delicate balancing act. On the one hand, we accommodate the patriarchal institution of academe, which threatens to consume and subsume us. On the other hand, we resist those structures and risk the consequences of anonymity and marginality" (p. 356). Stalker suggested a possible reconceptualization of mentoring that "allows [individuals] to mentor within the walls of academe at the same time that they reformulate the structure of those walls" (p. 370).

Voices of Experience: Narratives of Mentored Professionals

Perhaps the narratives of persons recently involved in mentoring relationships may add a valuable degree of context to the foregoing information. The three narratives are those of a young male teacher in his first year of teaching, a middle-aged woman entering academia as a new assistant professor, and a young couple in a franchised service industry.

Dan is a 24-year-old, first-year science and social studies teacher in a rural middle school. Dan's preservice education included three semesters of student teaching experience, and his teaching assignment came with the formal appointment of a mentor. Dan's mentor, a middle-aged woman who also taught social studies in a nearby high school, had been trained as a mentor and was paid a moderate stipend for her work with Dan. According to Dan, however, "it doesn't do me any good to have a mentor across the county; we've missed some meetings because of school conflicts and it's hard to find the time to get together. I don't even think she can understand what it's like for me as a male teacher; she treats me like one of her high school students, even calling me 'sonny' or 'sweetheart.'" When Dan and another teacher and coach in his school began to talk, however, Dan seized the opportunity to establish his own mentoring relationship with the older

man, noting that "he's accessible; I trust him and he understands me; we have a good rapport and I can learn from him even if we don't teach the same subjects. I'd like to be the kind of teacher he is."

After a long career in business and industry, Patricia recently completed her doctorate and joined a small college in the Midwest as an assistant professor in the school of business and management. During her doctoral studies, Patricia worked closely with two professors who "counseled, advised, coached me into the professoriate. They mentored me and when I graduated, I knew how to *be* an academic." When Patricia settled in and began teaching, however, she noted with sadness that similar relationships were now missing in her new role. Patricia noted that, although she could "call on my old professors any time, what I really need is someone here to talk to informally, help me understand this culture, guide me toward—and away from—committees, even join me in some research and writing projects. I'm not sure the men in this department will even be willing or able to mentor me." As a result, Patricia has sought out an old family friend and former dean to serve as her mentor and is in the process of forming a peer-mentoring group of women and men with similar needs.

Constance and Dave are new co-owners of a franchised service business in a midsized city. They serve a professional community with Internet-based services, educational brokering, and information processing. Constance, the company's president handles the administrative details of the business, and Dave deals with marketing, promotion, and technical support. The franchise agreement included a formal mentoring contract that stipulates they are both to be mentored by a former franchisee. According to the couple, however, the assigned and paid mentor "focuses his total attention on Dave, largely ignoring—or worse, even contradicting— Constance's administrative decisions, needs, and questions." Dave added that the mentor "doesn't seem to know how to relate to Constance, can't take her seriously. He wants me to take charge of the administrative functions that Constance is better prepared for and needs his advice on. He is totally dismissive of her talents and, as such, is really of little help to us. We're sure mentoring isn't supposed to be like this."

These scenarios point to the complexities of mentoring relationships and demonstrate the need to attend to the dynamics and contexts inherent in such relationships. These individuals' experiences evidence the potential limitations and challenges of arranged mentoring, unequal relationships, gender issues, and stereotypical expectations—many of which are found easily in educational settings. These same scenarios, however, also evidence the great need for individuals to acquire mentors for both career and psychosocial development and the significant value mentoring can have for both parties. In two of the cases, the mentored individuals recognized the limitations of their mentoring relationships and took measures to establish their own more productive and meaningful mentoring experiences. Gender was not so much the issue as was a lack of respect; time and space for the mentoring to flourish was crucial; and informal, peer mentoring became valuable adaptations to the formal, paid arrangements. Thus, for psychosocial development in particular, the dynamics of the mentoring relationships, the context in which they are instituted and maintained, and the relationships that develop are critical

components for mentoring success, whether for adult educators, administrators, and other professionals engaged in the continuing professional development of those who look to them for the advantages that mentoring can provide.

The Promise of Mentoring

Mentoring relationships hold great mutual promise for adults—whether as mentors or protégés—in terms of understanding and negotiating life's challenging developmental processes, while promoting friendship, assurance, career advancement, rejuvenation, and transformation. Mentoring contributes to the development of professional expertise, facilitates team building and cross training, and enhances job satisfaction (Peterson and Provo 1998). Further, as Stalker (1994) and others have suggested, mentoring holds promise for promoting structural change and more equitable opportunities in our institutions, agencies, and organizations (Brookfield 1987; Cohen and Galbraith 1995; Daloz 1999; Daresh 2001). Thus, mentoring may provide significant developmental assistance to both the mentor and protégé, while benefiting a learning society as well. Aimed at promoting intentional learning and development, mentoring enables individuals to cope with change, challenges assumptions and perspectives, and promotes critical and integrative thinking. English (2000) views mentoring as a means of self-actualization for both mentor and protégé. She suggests that adult educators could "initiate mentorship structures in their places of practice, and … encourage individuals to mentor, to pass on their knowledge, skills, and attitudes to protégés and instill in them the social value of the field … fostering in them a shared commitment for the common good" (p. 36)—all valuable goals for practitioners in adult and continuing education.

Mentoring in Contexts: The Workplace and Educational Institutions

Andrea D. Ellinger

Contexts and the Mentoring Research Phenomenon

Mentoring is not a new phenomenon. Although, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, it is most often associated with Greek mythology, the term "mentor" did not formally become visible in common usage until it appeared in titles of books aimed at helping young people during the 18th and 19th centuries (Woodd 1997). Consequently, mentors have often been conceptualized as those who draw upon a deep knowledge base to teach and guide others (Swap, Leonard, Shields, and Abrams 2001). Work organizations, public educational institutions, postsecondary educational institutions, professional associations, community-based organizations, and publicly and privately funded programs represent some of the contexts where mentoring occurs for a diverse array of individuals from adolescents to adults (Cohen and Galbraith 1995; Dansky 1996; Russell and Adams 1997).

Researchers have argued that promotions, early career advancement, higher income, greater job satisfaction, and reduced turnover among protégés can be attributed to mentoring (Chao, Walz, and Gardner 1992; Chao 1997; Fagenson-Eland, Marks, and Amendola 1997; Hill and Bahniuk 1998; Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000; Roche 1979). Further, mentoring can enhance organizational socialization and assimilation; convey organizational knowledge about values, norms, and routines (Swap, Leonard, Shields, and Abrams 2001); and reduce stress (Sosik and Godshalk 2000). Mentoring can also assist with faculty development; the development of women, minorities, and high-potential employees; and succession planning (Douglas and McCauley 1999; Goodwin, Stevens, and Bellamy 1998). In addition to the benefits of mentoring for protégés and the organization, mentors may experience career revitalization, social recognition, and personal satisfaction (Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs 1997; Burke, McKeen, and McKenna 1994; Jacobi 1991; Scandura, Tejeda, Werther, and Lankau 1996).

Within the past decade, several trends have generated considerable interest in mentoring in work organizations and educational institutions. Higgins and Kram (2001) identify four broad areas of change that have implications for mentoring: the new employment contract, the rapid pace of technology, changing organizational structures and forms, and diverse organizational memberships. Individuals, now characterized as knowledge workers, are assuming more responsibility for their learning and development because continuous learning as a core competency is being advocated as a way to remain competitive in job markets that no longer offer lifelong employment. The rapid pace of technology also requires employees to be technologically knowledgeable. Consequently, mentoring is now considered an important workplace learning strategy (Darwin 2000; Dymock 1999).

Changes in organizational structures and the nature of work influence who provides mentoring support and how it is provided. Downsizing, delayering, and team-based organizations may limit or alter access to traditional mentors. Individuals may have to seek such developmental support from peers or colleagues or externally through professional associations. In learning-oriented organizations, managers and leaders may be challenged to assume more developmental roles and become mentors to their employees (Ellinger and Bostrom 1999). In virtual organizations, or for those who telecommute, mentoring may be facilitated by technology. (See the next chapter for further discussion of technology and mentoring.) The composition of the work force is also dramatically changing. Since women now comprise one half of the work force and racial minorities one-third, they have become the focus of mentoring programs to help them overcome organizational barriers for advancement (Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000; Russell and Adams 1997; Van Collie 1998).

Within public educational institutions, mentoring for teachers and students has also become increasingly important, given the high attrition rates of new teachers and at-risk youth (Boreen and Niday 2000; Gratch 1998). More than 30 states have implemented some form of mentoring for new teachers at the elementary and secondary levels (Evertson and Smithey 2000; Gratch 1998). Some states have also enacted legislation that requires elementary and secondary education teachers to intern with a mentor teacher prior to obtaining their license to teach (Cunningham 1999). Within colleges and universities, planned mentoring is being used to improve retention and graduation rates among demographically underrepresented students, faculty, and administrators (Redman 1990; Ross-Thomas and Bryant 1994; Shultz, Colton, and Colton 2001). Mentoring among undergraduate and graduate students is also being encouraged to improve students' levels of academic achievements, assist at-risk students, and promote growth in graduate programs and the professoriate (Jacobi 1991; Waldeck, Orrego, Plax, and Kearney 1997). Such trends and legislation will likely influence the practice of mentoring and future mentoring research.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of current mentoring research within work organizations and educational institutions. This chapter begins by distinguishing between mentoring terminology and types of mentoring. Next, a brief review of recent research literature is presented with some implications for improving mentoring practice. Finally, the future direction of mentoring research within these different contexts is explored.

Mentoring Terminology and Types

Various definitions of mentoring exist, causing conceptual confusion from research and evaluation perspectives (Appelbaum, Ritchie, and Shapiro, 1994; Aryee, Chay, and Chew 1996; Barton-Arwood, Jolivette, and Massey 2000; Darwin 2000; Hansman 2001; Hegstad 1999). Mentors are traditionally defined as individuals who possess advanced experience and knowledge and are committed to providing developmental assistance to their less experienced protégés (Hegstad 1999; Mullen 1998; Ragins 1997b). Career development and psychosocial assistance are the two primary functions mentors provide (Kram in Ragins 1997b). Career-related behaviors typically include sponsorship, expo-

sure, visibility, coaching, and challenging assignments (Chao, Walz, and Gardner 1992). Psychosocial behaviors include role modeling, confirmation, counseling, and friendship (ibid.). Scandura (1992) has suggested that role modeling represents a third function performed by mentors.

Traditional forms include informal and formal mentoring (Chao, Walz, and Gardner 1992). Informal mentorships, or natural mentorships (Feist-Price 1994), occur spontaneously and are not managed or structured by organizations. In contrast, formal mentorships, or planned mentorships (Redman 1990), are those that are sponsored and sanctioned by the organization. Formal mentoring relationships may be the result of requirements to participate in such programs and pairing may occur randomly or by assignment or selection. Formal mentoring may be akin to "blind dates" or "arranged marriages" in some cases (Chao, Walz, and Gardner 1992). Additional distinctions between informal and formal mentoring may also include the purpose, structure, and duration of the relationship and the frequency of interaction (Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000).

Formal and informal mentoring can also be internal or external. Mentors within the same organization as the protégés are considered internal mentors and those employed outside of the organization are external mentors. Internal mentors may be more physically accessible and may be able to buffer and protect protégés (Ragins 1997b). External mentors, on the other hand, may be better poised to provide long-range career assistance and lateral career transitions (ibid.).

Recent Research on Mentoring in the Workplace

Scholarly attention has been devoted to the subject of mentoring for well over 3 decades, yet most of the empirical work has been done during the past decade (Chao, Walz, and Gardner 1992; Higgins and Kram 2001; Russell and Adams 1997). Mentoring research in the workplace has been focused on the types of mentoring and effectiveness of informal and formal mentoring; the characteristics of mentors and protégés; the process, functions, outcomes, and antecedents of mentoring; diversified mentoring; and marginal mentoring relationships (Chao, Walz, and Gardner 192; Hill and Bahniuk 1998; Ragins 1997a; Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000; Russell and Adams 1997; Young and Perrewe 2000).

Types of Mentorships

Recent research on the prevalence of mentoring in Fortune 1000 organizations has suggested that respondents who acknowledged having a mentor had been mentored informally (Simonetti, Ariss, and Martinez 1999). Comparisons of mentored individuals with nonmentored individuals generally suggest that informal mentoring is largely beneficial to protégés. Although scholars generally agree that mentoring in general is beneficial to protégés, informal mentorships may be more beneficial than formal mentoring programs because informal mentorships generally develop naturally and voluntarily between

mentors and protégés as a result of a mutual desire to engage in a mentoring relationship (Chao, Walz, and Gardner 1992; Lee, Dougherty, and Turban 2000).

Ragins and Cotton (1999) found that individuals with informal mentors received higher compensation and promotions than nonmentored employees and higher compensation than formally mentored employees. Another major finding of their research was that protégés with formal mentors did not gain any career advantages over nonmentored individuals. Gender-based differences were also identified. Mentorships with male partners received the most compensation, followed by female protégés with male mentors, male protégés with female mentors, and female protégés with female mentors. However, more recent research by Ragins, Cotton, and Miller (2000) has suggested that comparing informal and formal mentoring without controlling for quality or satisfaction with the mentoring relationship may present a simplistic and erroneous picture. They contend that mentoring occurs on a continuum and the level of satisfaction in the relationship is a key variable in determining type of mentoring effectiveness.

Although informal mentorships may appear to be more prevalent and beneficial to protégés, formal mentoring is an emerging trend (Douglas and McCauley 1999; Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000; Van Collie 1998). Formal mentoring programs have existed since the late 1970s and 1980s and have been linked to affirmative action (Van Collie 1998). However, as organizations have become more sensitive to the influx of women and minorities in the workplace, there has been considerable growth of such programs within the last decade (Gunn 1995; Jossi 1997). In a 1993 joint survey for the Society for Human Resource Management and Commerce Clearing House (Gunn 1995), more than one in five respondents indicated that their workplaces had mentoring programs targeted for minorities and many rated such programs as necessary.

In a survey by ***Human Resource Executive Magazine*** (Jossi 1997), the number of businesses planning mentoring programs more than doubled from 17 percent to 36 percent between 1995 and 1996. Now over one-third of major U.S. corporations have established mentoring programs (Nemanick 2000; Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000). Some organizations with mentoring programs include AT&T, Merrill Lynch, Federal Express, General Motors, J.C. Penney, Bell Labs, DuPont, Sun Microsystems, Charles Schwab, BellSouth Corporation, Barnett Bank, Nations Bank, Texas Commerce Bank, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Jewel Companies, Trevira, and General Electric (Hegstad 1999; Jossi 1997; Van Collie 1998).

Despite the growth of formal mentoring programs, few empirical studies have examined them (Lee, Dougherty, and Turban 2000; Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000). Recent research by Viator (1999) indicates that protégés who had input into the matching process viewed their mentorship experience differently than those who did not. In terms of comparing type of relationships, protégés reported being more satisfied with informal mentors than formal mentors. Orpen's (1997) research on formal mentoring programs confirms the importance of the quality of the mentoring relationship and suggests that formal mentoring programs can lead to better work motivation and greater organizational commitment if protégés perceive they have good relationships with their mentors.

In research designed to examine the effects of type of mentor, quality of relationship, and program design on work and career attitudes, Ragins et al. (2000) found that specific design features of formal mentoring programs had limited impacts on attitudes and degree of satisfaction with the mentoring relationship.

Many scholars suggest that formal mentoring programs should emulate informal mentoring relationships, but this is often difficult to achieve in practice (Chao 1997; Hill and Bahniuk 1998). The implications of some of the earlier mentoring research suggest that to enhance satisfaction with formal programs, mentors and protégés should have input into the pairing process; thus, providing informal opportunities for prospective mentors and protégés to interact may facilitate more natural pairings as opposed to forced assignment of dyads. However, contrasting findings by Ragins et al. (2000) suggest that programs that allowed participation in the pairing process did not yield more positive attitudes and were not viewed as more effective than programs that made assignments of dyads.

In terms of practical application, one area that Ragins et al. identified that may have an impact on design and practice is using mentors from departments that differ from the protégés. Most important, Ragins et al. contend that design features may be overshadowed by the degree of satisfaction with the mentoring relationship. In other words, a well-designed program still may not compensate for marginal mentors. Therefore, ascertaining mentors' motivation to mentor may yield insights into mentor recruitment and selection processes that may be more important than design features.

Characteristics and Personality Traits

Researchers have also examined the personal dispositions that distinguish protégés from nonprotégés and the characteristics and personality traits that influence the selection process for protégés and mentors (Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs 1997; Allen, Poteet, Russell, and Dobbins 1997; Aryee, Chay, and Chew 1996; Scandura 1992). These studies suggest that protégés tend to have higher needs for achievement and power than nonprotégés (Fagenson 1992). Research has suggested that mentors' intentions to mentor have been associated with mentors' internal locus of control and upward striving (Allen, Poteet, Russell, and Dobbins 1997). Aryee, Chay, and Chew (1996) also reported that managerial employees' motivation to mentor may be predicted by individual characteristics such as altruism, positive affectivity, situational characteristics that include an organizational reward system emphasizing employee development, and opportunities to interact on the job. The literature also suggests that the motivation to mentor may be related to the intangible rewards of mentoring, described by Erikson as generativity, which involves an element of selflessness (Jacobi 1991).

Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs (1997) have identified two overall factors that explain why mentors choose to become mentors: "other-focused" and "self-focused." Within these two factors, 13 dimensions were identified. The dimensions associated with "other-focused" included the desire to pass on information to others, to build a competent work force, to help others, to help others succeed, to help the organization, and to help mi-

norities and women move through the organizational ranks. For the mentors themselves, the "self-focused" dimensions included gratification at seeing others grow, free time for other pursuits, a personal desire to work with others, increased personal learning, pride, a desire to have influence on others, and respect from others.

From a pragmatic perspective, the research on characteristics and personality traits suggests specific attributes that may be influential in forming mentoring relationship, such as open communication, expertise, interests, and expectations within the organization for prospective mentors and protégés. However, the findings on why mentors choose to become mentors may be most useful in recruiting and selecting mentors. Identifying mentors who are committed to mentoring may improve the satisfaction within mentoring relationships that may ultimately have an impact on the practice of mentoring in the workplace.

Several factors have been identified that influence a mentor's selection of a protégé (Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs 1997): Some mentors considered the protégé a reflection of themselves. Personality indicators, such as good interpersonal skills, confidence, and dependability were among those mentors reported that influenced the selection process. Other indicators included how motivated and competent the protégé appeared to be and whether mentors felt they could help the protégé. Finally, a learning orientation that included protégés' willingness to learn and accept constructive feedback was considered important. More recent research by Allen, Poteet, and Russell (2000) on the characteristics deemed most influential by mentors in selecting protégés suggests that mentors are more likely to choose a protégé based upon perceptions regarding the protégé's potential and ability as opposed to the perceptions of the protégé's need for help. Mullen's (1998) research confirms that perceptions of protégés' competence influence the commitment of time and effort made by mentors. Research conducted by Green and Bauer (1995) within an academic setting also lends empirical evidence that mentoring functions are more likely to be available to the most capable newcomers within an organizational setting.

Similar values shared by mentors and protégés have also been influential to mentor-protégé dyads (Lee, Dougherty, and Turban 2000). Research by Kalbfleisch (2000) suggests that gender also affects the selection process. Same-sex mentoring relationships occur more frequently than cross-gender relationships, and the sex of the mentor or protégé was the best predictor of the sex of the corresponding partner (Kalbfleisch 2000). Hurley and Fagenson-Eland (1996) also concur that male mentor/female protégé relationships exist, but these relationships are infrequent due to perceptions and actual experiences of sexuality and intimacy. Women often fear that the male mentor or others will construe approaching a male mentor as a sexual advance within the organization. The actual or perceived power of a male mentor over a female protégé may also create concern about the potential for sexual harassment (Hurley and Fagenson-Eland 1996).

In addition to sexuality, intimacy, and sexual harassment issues, Feist-Price (1994) elaborates on Kram's (1985) categories of cross-gender complexities to suggest that cross-gender relationships are often subject to public scrutiny and suspicion, peer resentment, and the potential lack of appropriate role modeling. Further, collusion in assuming stereo-

typical roles is another complexity of cross-gender mentorships. In addition to cross-gender mentorships, Thomas (2001) acknowledges that a significant amount of research suggests that cross-race mentorships suffer from public scrutiny, peer resentment, lack of identification and role modeling, and skepticism about intimacy. All of these issues affect the formation of mentoring relationships.

Organizations need to pay attention to gender, cross-gender, and cross-race effects on mentoring. Hurley and Fagenson-Eland (1996) suggest that establishing formal mentoring programs may help to legitimize cross-gender mentoring relationships by alleviating rumors and speculation that may otherwise occur as a result of such relationships. Further, they advocate that all mentors and protégés should receive training about the dangers of sexualizing the mentoring relationship and sexual harassment. In terms of cross-race mentorships, Thomas (2001) advocates that organizations teach mentors and protégés about identifying and surmounting various race-related difficulties. Another important task for mentors in cross-race relationships is to help the protégé build a large and diverse network of relationships. Further in-depth discussion of cross-gender and cross-race mentor relationships occurs in the next two chapters.

Hierarchical, Nonhierarchical, and Alternative Mentoring Relationships

Most mentoring studies focus on mentors who are not direct supervisors to their protégés (Hill and Bahniuk 1998). However, a recent stream of research examining hierarchical mentoring relationships has focused on supervisors or bosses who serve as mentors to their protégés (Booth 1996). Findings suggest that mentors perform more career development and psychosocial mentoring functions when they directly supervise the protégé (Burke and McKeen 1997; Fagenson-Eland, Marks, and Amendola 1997). Mentor-supervisors are also perceived to communicate more with protégés. Fagenson-Eland et al.'s research also confirms an earlier research finding by Ragins and McFarlin (1990) that protégés perceive that supervisory mentors provide more mentoring than nonsupervisory mentors do. Booth's (1996) research suggests that mentor-managers and protégés perceive a difference between traditional managerial/employee relationships and supervisory mentoring because of the degree of commitment, caring, and trust that is involved in a mentoring relationship.

Despite the findings that suggest more mentoring functions are provided by mentors who are in direct supervision of their protégés, these mentoring relationships should be monitored by the organization, mentor, and protégé. The potential for abuse of power by the supervisor may exist, which could result in sexual harassment, denial of promotions, or the instigation of unfavorable work conditions (Hurley and Fagenson-Eland 1996).

Peer mentoring, or lateral mentoring, has also emerged as an alternative form of mentoring. However, this type of mentoring has been the focus of limited research (Russell and Adams 1997) and may be appropriate for organizations that are "flatter, more participative" (Eby 1997, p. 127). Recent research by McDougall and Beattie (1997) examined peer mentoring using a sample of students engaged in postgraduate

management programs, who considered it more of a two-way process. Benefits of peer mentoring identified by McDougall and Beattie were support, confidence building, mutual learning, different perspectives on issues, and the development of friendships. The main organizational benefit was that peer mentoring offered the opportunity for synergy and cross-fertilization of ideas and experience, the notion that "two heads are better than one" (McDougall and Beattie, p. 433). Their research also suggested that peer mentoring bridged organizational chasms and contributed to teamwork and improved performance. Additional research is needed to better assess the organizational impact of peer mentoring, the potential disadvantages of peer mentoring, and peer mentoring that may be formal or informal.

Overall, the implications from research on hierarchical, nonhierarchical, and alternative mentoring relationships for practice suggests that managers, bosses, supervisors, peers, and colleagues can be invaluable mentoring resources. To promote mentoring behavior, particularly for managers and bosses, development of subordinates should be incorporated into appraisal systems and be linked to broader reward systems within the organization as a role requirement of managers (Aryee, Chay, and Chew 1996). Providing organizational support for employee learning and development is critical. Therefore, scholars have stressed the importance of educating protégés and mentors about the roles, functions, expectations, and benefits of mentoring (Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs 1997; Lee, Dougherty, and Turban 2000). Providing appropriate training for mentors on how to develop and sustain mentoring relationships has also been advocated as a strategy to enhance mentoring programs (Eby 1997; Sosik and Godshalk 2000). Research on mentor preparation in educational settings has yielded successful results that could improve practice in the workplace.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Mentoring for Mentors

Discussion concerning mentoring frequently focuses on its benefits for protégés, but more recently, outcomes for mentors have been an area of study. Perceived benefits to the mentors identified by Allen, Poteet, and Burroughs (1997) included the development of a support network, satisfaction in seeing others grow, job-related benefits that help the mentor to do his/her job or increase his/her knowledge, and increased visibility and recognition within the organization. Mentors also reported the notion of passing on knowledge and building a competent work force that represented benefits extending beyond themselves. Allen et al.'s findings also reinforce some of the benefits to mentors identified by Young and Perrewe's (2000) research that include career revitalization, social recognition, and personal satisfaction. Dymock (1999) also suggests that mentors learn from the mentoring process and experience work-related and personal benefits.

Despite some of the positive benefits that have been linked to mentoring, some research has found that mentoring can have negative consequences including jealousy, overdependence, and unwanted romantic or sexual involvement (Darwin 2000). Some negative consequences of mentoring for mentors identified by Allen et al. include the time required for mentoring, perceived favoritism to the protégé, potential abuse of the relationship by the protégé, and feelings of failure. Further, Ervin (1995) found that,

among some of the women participating in her study who were serving in dual roles as mentors and protégés, mentors were unwilling to share their knowledge, were unsupportive emotionally, and were unwilling or unable to give feedback. Communicating the positive benefits of mentoring within organizations may encourage more potential mentors and protégés to seek mentoring within the workplace; recognizing that such relationships require vigilance to prevent potential abuses is also critical.

Mentoring in Educational Institutions

A growing base of research in educational settings has also examined the benefits of mentoring (Russell and Adams 1997). Mentoring has been examined in general, special, and higher education (Campbell and Campbell 2000). Some research has explored mentoring and at-risk students, peer mentoring in secondary education, student teachers (Boreen and Niday 2000; Hawkey 1997), beginning teachers (Ballantyne, Hansford, and Packer 1995; Evertson and Smithey 2000; Gratch 1998), faculty and students (Campbell and Campbell 2000; Cullen and Luna 1993; Waldeck, Orrego, Plax, and Kearney 1997), and faculty (Goodwin, Stevens and Bellamy 1998). Prior studies have provided overviews of mentoring and examined forms and consequences of mentoring, particularly at the elementary and secondary education levels (Campbell and Campbell 2000; Cunningham 1999; Hawkey 1997).

Similar to mentoring within work organizations, formal programs exist in educational settings that assign students to mentors. Conversely, some mentorship relationships develop naturally without any formal structure or support (Campbell and Campbell 2000). In contrast, at least at the elementary and secondary level, mentoring relationships that are more structured and organized within classroom settings tend to be more successful (Barton-Arwood, Jolivette, and Massey 2000). The sections that follow present a brief overview of current research on mentoring within various educational settings.

Student and Beginning Teachers

Despite projections by the U.S. Department of Education that suggest that new teachers will be entering U.S. schools in record numbers over the next 10 years due to retirement and class size restrictions, statistics indicate that teachers leave the profession at a rate of 50 percent after 5 years and 80 percent after 10 years (Boreen and Niday 2000). In particular, education scholars have acknowledged that the initial year of teaching is very challenging for beginning teachers and that novice teachers often face isolation (Boreen and Niday 2000; Gratch 1998). Consequently, many colleges and universities provide student teaching opportunities, and a growing number of educational institutions have implemented mentoring programs to assist new teachers. Four approaches to research into mentoring of student teachers have been found in the literature (Hawkey 1997): (1) a focus on roles and responsibilities of those involved in training student teachers; (2) an analysis of the stages of development that student teachers experience and corresponding models of mentoring to meet those stages of development; (3) the stages of mentoring and interpersonal aspects of learning to teach; and (4) the notion that mentors bring their own values and perspectives to the mentoring task.

Some research suggests that student teachers experience different roles and outcomes from their mentors and academic supervisors who partner to provide mentoring to them. The classroom teacher often focuses on craft knowledge, whereas academic supervisors generally provide more teaching process and learning theory guidance. However, questions remain about how student teachers integrate this knowledge and if they learn what is intended through their interactions with classroom teachers and academic supervisors (Bennett and Dunne in Hawkey 1997). Other research on student teachers has focused on levels of teacher development and stages of development that have been used to inform the mentoring process, the different roles and functions that mentors provide, and the perspectives about the mentoring relationship from the protégés' viewpoints (Hawkey 1997).

Evertson and Smithey (2000) examined the effects of support provided by trained mentors on the classroom practices of their entry-year protégés. Their findings suggest that preparing mentors does enable them to be more successful in supporting protégés' success. Specifically, protégés of trained mentors showed increased evidence of developing and sustaining more workable classroom routines, managing instruction more smoothly, and gaining student cooperation in academic tasks. Evertson and Smithey concluded that the presence of a mentor is not sufficient; the skills and knowledge of the mentor are critical to the relationship. Research from the National Center for Research on Teaching and Learning at Michigan State University (Gratch 1998) also suggests that mentors do not guarantee that novice teachers will become more skilled at teaching.

In related research, Ballantyne, Hansford, and Packer (1995) explored the process and outcomes of buddy mentoring in which beginning teachers were paired with an experienced teacher. The mentoring functions provided by buddy mentors included personal support, task-related assistance and support, problem-related assistance and advice, and critical reflection and feedback on practice. Although experienced buddy teachers were able to offer valuable support, Ballantyne et al. suggest that there are limitations to the relationship. Buddy mentors may be unreceptive to progressive teaching techniques, may not be good role models themselves, and may be unwilling to render criticism. They suggest that a broad range of mentoring resources be used that includes specialist or consultant teachers, principals, or preservice institutional support. Research by Boreen and Niday (2000) describes a project that linked preservice teachers with veteran and peer teachers and incorporated use of the Internet for electronic mentoring exchanges. The integration of technology is another approach to facilitate a network of mentors.

Faculty/Staff Mentors and College Students

Research on faculty-to-student mentoring is incomplete, and Goodwin, Stevens, and Bellamy (1998) suggest that only a few articles and books exist that have explored this phenomenon. Although mentoring among graduate students tends to be more common than at the undergraduate level, mentoring research in academic settings has largely excluded graduate student/faculty mentoring experiences (Cullen and Luna 1993; Waldeck, Orrego, Plax, and Kearney 1997). In an attempt to extend this line of inquiry, Waldeck et al. surveyed mentored graduate students to obtain a profile of the graduate

student/faculty mentoring relationship, identification and selection strategies, evaluations of strategies, mentoring functions, and satisfaction with the mentoring relationship. One striking finding from this research was the perception of difficulty among students at initiating mentoring relationships with faculty members. The authors suggest that increased sensitivity toward legal issues such as sexual harassment and ramifications of inappropriate relationships with students may discourage faculty from mentoring graduate students. Overall, however, students generally received more psychosocial mentoring functions and were satisfied with their mentoring experiences. However, Waldeck et al. acknowledge that the effectiveness of mentoring relationships among graduate students and faculty must be examined longitudinally.

In contrast, a related study by Ervin (1995) examines the experiences of women as both mentors and protégés; study participants acknowledged that their academic mentors were unsupportive emotionally, unwilling or unable to give them feedback, and unwilling to share their knowledge. Findings from another study conducted by Bowman, Bowman, and Hatley (1995) on the issue of dual relationships between full-time faculty and graduate students suggest that more research is needed on the ethics of faculty-student relationships and that students should have more input on such relationships since mentoring, friendship, and social interaction affect the graduate student experience.

Campbell and Campbell (2000) conducted a survey study within a large West Coast university. In this program, faculty volunteer to mentor students and are paired based upon their shared academic interests. Findings suggest that students tend to assess the value of the mentoring relationship in terms of getting assistance from their mentors with academic matters. Faculty mentors, however, were more sensitive to the social benefits of mentoring students and developing a personal bond and friendships with their students. The differences in perceived benefits suggest that further research is needed to explore what motivates faculty and students to participate in mentoring programs. In a similar study examining mentoring functions and protégé potential in graduate supervisory mentoring relationships, Green and Bauer (1995) found that faculty serving as graduate thesis or dissertation advisers provided more mentoring functions to those prospective students perceived to be talented and capable. In other words, protégé potential predicted the amount of mentoring functions provided by the supervisory mentor. However, the impact of mentoring functions on student performance needs to be further researched.

Faculty Mentoring Other Faculty

Within academic settings, limited empirical research has examined faculty-to-faculty mentoring in schools, colleges and departments of education (Cunningham 1999; Goodwin, Stevens, and Bellamy 1998; St. Clair 1994). To address this gap, Goodwin et al. conducted a survey among 13 schools, colleges, and departments of education in Colorado to examine faculty members' attitudes, perceptions, and experiences about faculty mentoring relationships. In general, relationships were often voluntary and informal, characterized by attributes such as mutual respect, compatibility, and caring. There were significant differences in terms of institutional type, with doctoral-degree granting

institutions placing greater value and importance on mentoring. Mentoring in such institutions also emphasized research and scholarship, teaching, and professional socialization. However, research on faculty-to-faculty mentoring relationships needs to be considerably extended, and in particular, issues of gender and power need to be explored (Cullen and Luna 1993; Olson and Ashton-Jones 1992; St. Clair 1994)

Conclusions and Future Research Needs

This chapter provides an overview of current mentoring research within the workplace and educational settings. Most evident is that these research literature bases have been growing, often in parallel ways. Consequently, tremendous opportunities to enhance the knowledge base on mentoring exist if future research efforts can be focused on integrating and linking findings from work and educational settings (Burke and McKeen 1997; Russell and Adams 1997).

Much of the research to date has focused on a traditional conception of mentoring as a single dyadic relationship. However, scholars suggest that definitions of mentoring need to be broadened and alternative forms of mentoring should be explored and researched. Higgins (2000) and Higgins and Kram (2001), for instance, have conceived of mentoring as multiple developmental relationships, or relationship constellations. This suggests that alternative forms of mentoring need to be explored to determine if types of mentorships and outcomes differ for mentors and protégés (Eby 1997; Hegstad 1999; Russell and Adams 1997; Young and Perrewe 2000). Examining the perspectives of mentors and protégés and the characteristics that affect the relationship is equally important, as well as mentor quality and the supervisory-subordinate mentoring dyad (Chao 1997; Goodwin, Stevens, and Bellamy 1998; Gratch 1998; Hawkey 1997; McManus and Russell 1997; Megginson 2000).

The longitudinal effects of mentoring on mentors, protégés, and institutions or organizations also need to be explored (Evertson and Smithey 2000; Young and Perrewe 2000). Dysfunctional mentoring, the linkage between emotional intelligence and mentoring, and the impact of technology on mentoring are areas that require future research (Megginson 2000). (The next chapter in this volume explores telementoring, an electronic form of mentoring.) Another extremely important research agenda is to continue to examine gender, ethnic, and cultural differences including cross-gender, cross-racial, cross-cultural mentorship relationships (Megginson 2000; Ragins 1997b; Ragins, Cotton, and Miller 2000). Finally, research about relationships of power and knowledge in mentoring relationships need further explication (Darwin 2000; Hansman 2001).

Telementoring: Shaping Mentoring Relationships for the 21st Century

Talmadge Guy

> "But what…is it good for?"—Engineer at the Advanced Computing Systems Division of IBM, commenting on the microchip. (Cerf and Navasky 1984)

Skeptics have questioned the value or practicality of adopting new technologies for centuries as traditional or familiar patterns of interaction and communication are easily and quickly altered. Although the value of any single innovation is difficult to predict, there is little doubt technological innovation is affecting virtually every aspect of our lives. These changes are clearly evident in our everyday lives. The clothes we wear and the cars we drive are produced in factories where automated machines have replaced a large part of the human work force involved in the mass production of goods. Instead of a human answering the telephone, we are greeted by a computerized recording or voice mail. Fax, e-mail, and instant messaging have made long-distance telephone calls and human interaction much less important for keeping in touch with family, friends, or co-workers. And we can purchase almost anything we might need on the Internet—from groceries and clothes to computers and cars. For most Americans, technology has changed how we conduct our personal and professional affairs in fundamental ways.

Despite the ubiquity of computer technology in the modern world, we might reasonably wonder if technology has in every case made real improvements in the quality of our lives and relationships. This is a question we should ask because we are bombarded with media and advertising that tell us how much better, more fun, or easier life will be with the use of this or that technological innovation. This is especially true in work settings and with computers as we are told that the latest software, or fastest computer, or high-speed Internet connection will make us more productive in our work. This is not to suggest, as is clearly the case in the introductory quotation, that the potential for technology is not perceived. We should indeed acknowledge that technology has tremendous potential for affecting the quality of life of the average individual. However, we should not uncritically accept the potential of technology for the development of human relationships that are the foundation to learning. Technology may be a rich resource but not a panacea for problems that occur in human relationships such as mentoring.

Whatever else mentoring is, it is fundamentally human, interpersonal, and value laden. In this chapter, I explore the relationship of technology to mentoring through what is called telementoring, the electronic version of mentoring. A key assumption that guides this exploration is that technology is altering the nature of human relationships, particularly mentoring relationships, in fundamental ways. Given the variation that human beings have in language, culture, social practices, and representations, how will the homogenizing effect of digital technology affect real and valued differences among

human beings? Will a technological substratum of digital electronics serve to unify all symbolic forms into a uniform system of codes? If digital technologies are uncritically adopted in the face of vital human need and difference, will important social and individual issues go unacknowledged and therefore unresolved? It seems likely that in this exploration I will probably raise more questions than I answer. But I think questions are appropriate given that we are only now at the dawn of the digital age and do not fully comprehend the impact of the technological innovations on our lives as we are witnessing and experiencing them.

What Is Telementoring?

A definition of telementoring begins with an understanding of traditional mentoring. An age-old method of training and learning, mentoring has existed in many societies throughout history (Chan 2000). Traditionally, a mentor was usually considered to be an older and more experienced person who shares his or her expertise and knowledge with a younger protégé (Chan 2000; Levinson et al. 1978; Phillips-Jones 1982). More recent formulations regard age as increasingly irrelevant whereas knowledge, skill, expertise, and experience become more essential (Daloz 1999; Haney 1997). How that knowledge, skill, and expertise are shared may vary. For example, Maynard and Furlong (1995) identify three models of mentoring: the apprenticeship model in which the protégé observes and learns from the mentor; the competency model in which the mentor gives systematic feedback to protégés about their skills and expertise; and the reflective model in which mentors support protégés in becoming reflective practitioners. Other analyses of traditional mentoring identify three broad purposes served by mentoring programs: educational or academic mentoring, career mentoring, and personal development mentoring (Dennis 1993).

With the advent of online applications for teaching and learning, telementoring has been conceptualized as the online or electronic version of mentoring (Chan 2000; Single and Muller 1999). Telementoring essentially serves the same purposes as traditional mentoring but uses technology to facilitate mentoring relationships. Typically, the interaction between mentor and protégé occurs through e-mail but it may also entail communication via numerous technologies such as instant messaging, audio and video conferencing, and online discussion boards. As such, telementoring may occur in both synchronous and asynchronous formats. Other terms for telementoring include e-mentoring, cyber-mentoring, or virtual mentoring (Single and Muller 1999).

The Impact of Technology on the Mentoring Relationship

Owing to wider possibilities for interaction between mentor and protégé through the compression of time and location, telementoring provides advantages over traditional modes of mentoring by linking mentors and protégés who could not otherwise interact. For example, a young adult in Atlanta can be linked with an expert in Phoenix through the use of computer technology, opening up the possibilities for interaction in ways that are difficult or impossible in traditional models of mentoring. Interaction between men-

tors and proteges becomes easier since messages can be sent at any time. For instance, an e-mail message sent at 8 o'clock one evening could be answered at 6 o'clock the next morning, creating a communication avenue between individuals located across long distances. In this way, time and geographical location can be reconfigured to suit human needs instead of human interaction being subjected to the limitations of time and distance. Adult educators can more easily link learners with experts across continents and time zones using global digital technologies. Of course, all this assumes that access to global technologies is available and that both mentor and protégé have the knowledge to use digital technologies.

"Relationship"—The Essence of Mentoring

Daloz (1986, 1999) characterizes the essential nature of mentoring as establishing a meaningful, deep, and highly personal relationship between mentor and protégé. For protégés, mentors occupy a "psychic space somewhere between lover and parent" (Daloz 1999, p. 18). Anderson and Shannon (1995) conceptualize mentoring as involving three crucial dimensions of interpersonal interaction: (1) expressing care and concern, (2) opening ourselves, and (3) leading incrementally (1995). Beyond the fairly straightforward exchange of information that occurs in mentoring, mentors and protégés share a highly personal and, ideally, mutually satisfying relationship based on understanding, appreciation, and respect (Galbraith and Cohen 1995b). But when mentoring occurs in online environments, does computer technology modify the mentoring relationship, adding something of its own character to the nature of mentoring? How will digital communication affect interaction between mentor and protégés? What is the impact of technology on the quality and frequency of communication?

Since e-mail is frequently used, communication is often limited to the exchange of digital text transmissions, such as through e-mailed messages. However, since e-mail and other forms of online communication are asynchronous, text based, and relatively fast, they are significantly different from face-to-face or even telephone interactions. In a study of online learning in a university-sponsored program, Harris, O'Bryan, and Rotenberg (1996) recommend that protégés attend training sessions to be prepared to communicate appropriately and adequately online with their mentors because e-mail lacks the full range of communication cues that humans rely on in face-to-face interactions. The use of "smileys" such as "o-:)" or ALL CAPITAL LETTERS, or other text-based communication devices can help to compensate for the absence of voice intonation, body language, and facial expression typical of face-to-face conversation. Despite these cues, there is still a risk for misinterpretation or misunderstanding, which can be resolved at some later time by the next e-mail or digital communication.

All this points to the digital environment as having the potential to sacrificing the richness of human communication. Webs of significance that connect humans together in symbolically constituted forms of relationship are difficult to reproduce in digital format. How does the mentor read the digital text, e.g., e-mail message, in such a way to produce an understanding that is analogous to and as rich as face-to-face communication? How does the protégé interpret in an e-mail message what is intended as a friendly or support-

ive challenge to existing assumptions? And just how important is this problem of meaning construction in telementoring relationships? Other than generalized critiques of digital technologies, these issues have not been taken up in the literature on telementor-ing and remain, therefore, unproblematized. We simply do not know what the impact of digital technologies is on the depth and breadth of relationships that characterize meaningful mentoring.

Other considerations involved in creating meaningful mentor relationships concern power and status issues between mentor and protégé. Inattention to the issue of matching protégé to mentor can produce mentoring relationships that are unbalanced, such as where the senior person initiates contact and directs the interaction more frequently than the protégé (Goldman and Newman 1992; Moore 1991; Saunders, Robey, and Vavarek 1994). Similarly, protégés who seek advice via e-mail but must wait for several days to receive responses can be left wondering if there is a truly caring and mutually beneficial mentoring relationship at work. Other technological innovations, such as wireless devices, inherently truncate human interaction so that conversations are reduced to an exchange of quick, short messages. Aspects of the mentoring relationships where sustained communication and psychological and emotional support are important would be sacrificed in favor of quick and immediate communication.

Current projections suggest that half of the U.S. work force would use wireless communication technologies by the end of 2001. Wireless telephones are projected to overtake landline telephone communications by 2005 (The Universal Wireless Communications Consortium 2001). The advent of wireless technologies such as Internet-capable cell phones, hand-held computers, and personal digital assistants offer some promise that the digital divide may be reduced in the coming years. A basic reason for this is that wireless devices are generally less expensive and therefore more widely accessible to a broader range of the population. This trend is already quite common in parts of Asia where individuals send instant messages to each other throughout the day (Andersson 2001).

In addition, Internet service providers, cellular telephone companies, and hand-held computer companies (e.g., www.Palm.net) are beginning to offer mobile Internet and wireless communication services (Andersson 2001). With the wider availability of such wireless services, communication between mentors and protégés could take a sharply technological turn in the coming years. No longer bound by the need for face-to-face or even telephone conversations, short and instant communication is widely possible and could make a real impact on telementoring in the years ahead. However, unless telementoring relationships are organized so that technology complements rather than replaces face–to–face communication, the effect of quick and abbreviated communication may not lead to improvements in the structure of mentoring relationships. But mentoring relationships could be enhanced because mentors and protégés have access to each other in ways not previously possible.

Models of Telementoring

As a relatively new area of research, the growing literature on telementoring can be classified into two broad categories: educational and career related. Educational applications of telementoring typically involve linking students with subject-matter experts who provide expert guidance or information to students in learning environments (Foster 1999; Harris and Jones 1999; Wheeldon and Lehmann 1999). Learning environments can be classroom based, online, or a combination of both (Doyle 1995; Harris and Jones 1999). Career development is a second major category in which telementoring occurs. Studies related to career development describe telementoring as either a complement to traditional mentoring programs or as an innovation that extends mentoring in new directions (Bennett 1997; Bierema 1996; Kendall 1992; Kirk and Murrin 1999). Some telementoring projects incorporate features of both educational and career-related designs by linking professionals with students currently enrolled in educational institutions to provide subject-matter guidance as well as career advice and support (Duff 2000; O'Neill and Gomez 1996).

Perez and Dorman (2001) identify three broad categories of telementoring: pair mentoring, group mentoring, and ask an expert. Pair mentoring involves a long-term relationship between a protégé and a mentor. In this model, the mentor provides not only information but also social and psychological support for the protégé. Social development is considered as important as the acquisition of knowledge or skill. In this model, technological resources such as e-mail, audio, video, and other enhanced technologies are frequently used.

In group mentoring, an expert or group of experts is matched with a protégé or a group of protégés. Group mentoring may involve a single interaction or a sustained series of interactions over a longer period of time. Whatever the model employed, telementoring involves some kind of basic computer technology, including appropriate software such as chat rooms, bulletin boards, instant messaging, or e-mail.

The "ask an expert" model is usually a single or short-term exchange where protégés or novices ask an expert for guidance and assistance. In some instances, novices post questions to mentors, who serve primarily as knowledgeable sources of support and guidance. Mentors post answers to electronic archives or bulletin boards for later reference or use. In this model, the protégé receives short-term advice, instruction, or guidance from the mentor. The central feature of this model is information sharing between mentor and protégé. This formulation of mentoring alters the traditional concept of mentor where an ongoing relationship is the central facet of the mentor-protégé dyad. The particular advantage of "ask an expert" is that students are linked with experts whom they otherwise would never meet. However, this model of mentoring does little to promote the socialization or acculturation of protégés that has been identified as so important to mentoring relationships (Bierema 1996; Galbraith and Cohen 1995a).

Telementoring in Schools

A number of online resources now exist to assist learners and schools in creating telementoring programs. Among well-known online sites is the Hewlett Packard Telementor Program located on the International Telementor Program website (www.telementor.org/). The Hewlett Packard telementoring program, in operation since 1995, is designed to create successful mentor relationships between HP employees and students using e-mail communication (Foster 1999; Rea 2001).

Another prominent telementoring project, the National School Network telementoring program (http://nsn.bbn.com/telementor_wrkshp/tmlink.htm), works with local schools to establish telementoring programs that link volunteer adults with school learners. It also matches subject-matter experts with learners. Students can send homework assignments to experts for review before sending them on to the teacher. Teachers monitor the exchange.

Other telementoring programs are becoming available. For example, the National Science Foundation supported the development of the Telementoring Young Women in Science, Engineering, and Computing (Perez and Dorman 2001). Female high school students receive support from professional women in the sciences, enroll in college, and find a ready professional network among women with whom they have communicated during their formative years. The aim is to increase the number of women in male-dominated fields such as engineering and the sciences. The completed project now supports the establishment of similar programs.

A similar program, MentorNet (http://mentornet.net), matches college women to women professionals in the fields in science and engineering. The foundation of the program is careful matching of mentors with protégés. Program administrators have learned that matching on such variables as educational field, industry sector, and students' educational level with the mentor's earned degree (such as a Ph.D. student with a mentor who already earned a doctorate) promotes a high-quality experience for mentor and protégé. In addition, the program offers planned opportunities for discussions, community building, and evaluation, feedback, and intervention.

As teachers become trained in online teaching and learning, telementoring is likely to increase particularly as a way to enhance existing instructional designs. A drawback to this approach is that teachers and faculty may find it difficult to identify subject-matter experts as resources at the times they are needed for instruction.

Telementoring in Work Organizations

In the not-too-distant past, mentoring was commonly thought of as an informal relationship in the world of work where an elder statesman of the organization would take a "young lion" under his wing—what Daloz refers to as the "Yoda factor" (1999). Usually, mentoring relationships were male relationships in which the junior person was afforded

entry into an exclusive "good ol' boy network." A key characteristic of the mentoring relationship, then, was to ensure the continuity of community, culture, and identity between an elder generation and a new generation. In this sense, mentoring served an important gatekeeping and socializing function. Not everyone could get into the upper ranks of the organization and mentoring was seen as a way of screening in the "chosen ones."

With the advent of affirmative action programs in the 1970s, women and excluded racial and ethnic groups entered occupations from which they were previously excluded (Hacker 1992). In this context of changing expectations and demographics, telementoring has become increasingly popular as a feature of formal mentoring programs within organizations (Dyson 1997). As technology has effected important changes in the workplace and the nature of work, telementoring has become a viable alternative to traditional mentoring programs and seems to fit the new organizational styles of work where employees are dispersed across time and place. In the context of telecommuting, telementoring seems a logical extension of the new work relationship. Affording access is even more convenient since linking individuals with differing backgrounds is easier. However, whether telementoring will serve the ends of expanding the ranks of women and minorities in high-status professions and leadership roles remains to be seen.

Juxtaposed against the idea of greater access, however, is the fact that wide-area computer networks and decentralized work environments have made consulting, freelancing, and work at home arrangements more commonplace. In this context, physical access to mentors may be more limited. Organizations will have to make conscious efforts to link mentors and protégés in this kind of work environment. Telementoring, then, can serve a real need in the absence of frequent contact between senior members of the organization and protégés.

Sociocultural and Demographic Factors that Affect Telementoring

Sociocultural factors related to gender and race affect the quality and duration of the mentoring relationship. Additionally, as discussed more fully in the next chapter, differences in power and status are multiplied when race or gender differences are present (Ragins and McFarlin 1990; Scandura and Ragins 1993; Thomas 2000). Bova (2000) reports that personal needs of protégés are often overlooked in cross-gender/cross-racial mentoring relationships. She says that it is critical in successful mentoring relationships that the protégés have a distinct sense of feeling appreciated by their mentors and that their contribution is viewed as important within the organization (Bova 2000). Thomas (2001) also supports this point of view, arguing that the needs of African Americans and other racial minorities differ from those of whites in mentoring relationships because they frequently face issues of negative stereotypes, peer resentment, and skepticism about competence. In addition, acquiring the values and knowing the history and organizational practices are vital to socialization within an organization. Bierema (1996) points out that mentoring relationships provide critical processes for women to learn the culture

of an organization. Mentors who take the time to guide new members of the organization in ways that are sensitive to the needs of the individual help ensure successful mentoring relationships. As a result of the importance of these relationship issues, mentor training is especially important in cross-racial or cross-gender mentoring pairs.

The significance of the foregoing for an assessment of telementoring programs is that many telementoring programs provide only a brief opportunity for exchanges between mentors and protégés, in contrast to a senior person or expert guiding, supporting, or promoting the interests of the protégé. As J. Harris (1999) points out, when brief exchanges, such as ask an expert style formats, develop into a "teleapprenticeship" type of relationship, the exchanges are longer lasting and involve deeper levels of communication regarding the topic or subject of mutual interest. Therefore, the purposes and goals of telementoring programs may vary depending on the format employed and will need to be sufficiently well communicated to both mentor and protégé in order to avoid confusion about what is to be expected from the mentoring process.

The Digital Divide: The Social Distribution of Technology

Much of the current discourse about technology and its impact paints a rosy picture that technology is providing a convenient quality of life for Americans. However, unequal access to technology, called the digital divide, means that some adults have more—and sometimes much more—access to the Internet than others. Patterns of access have typically mirrored social class, racial, and ethnic disparities found in other aspects of modern life. A report by the U.S. Department of Commerce (National Telecommunications and Information Administration 1999) documents that two of three Americans have no Internet access whatsoever. Lack of access is associated with low educational or income levels. Unless these individuals have access through educational sites or through work, they are unlikely to be able to participate in telementoring activities, although this may be less of a problem in school settings. One posited advantage of telementoring may, in fact, be illusory since Internet activity is unlikely after work or school hours due to lack of access.

What impact will such limitations have on participation in telementoring programs? Much of the current literature on telementoring assumes access to technology. However, if protégés and mentors are forced, by the lack of available technology, to communicate only during "official hours," one might question just how effective telementoring is for meeting goals associated with mentoring programs.

Race, Gender, Technology, and Telementoring

Although gains have been made over the past several years, race and gender continue to be associated with unequal distribution of access to computer technology (National Telecommunications and Information Administration 2000). Unequal Internet access is strongly related to race and ethnicity status. African Americans and Hispanics continue to experience the lowest rates of access. In August 2000, Internet usage among African Americans was only 29.3 percent whereas Hispanic usage was only 23.7 percent (ibid.).

By comparison, nearly half of Asian Pacific Islanders were using the Internet. The rate of Internet usage for whites was estimated at 50.3 percent. Such differences in the rate of Internet use and access indicate that telementoring opportunities are unequally distributed within the population on the basis of race and ethnicity. The advantages provided by telementoring are very likely unequally available to African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and other ethnic minorities who are at a disadvantage in the digital divide.

Gender is also related to unequal access and use of technology. This is true in terms of the number of women in technology careers as well as technology use (American Association of University Women 1998). The significance of the gender gap is twofold. Although access to computing technology is available through education and work sites, computer knowledge and computer usage among women has lagged behind that of men. However, this may be changing. For example, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, Internet use by women almost equaled that of men in 2000, with women's rate of use at approximately 44 percent (National Telecommunications and Information Administration 2000).

Another important factor related to gender is the different communication styles of men and women in online environments. Such differences in communication styles pose a potential barrier to effective telementoring relationships involving men and women. For example, studies suggest that gender plays a role in how online communication takes place (Ferris 1996; McDowell 1998; Wojahn 1994). Women's pattern of online talk is more conversational, resembling that of face-to-face conversation, different from men's talk, which tends to be more factual and to the point (Ferris 1996). Cross-gender communication online must account for potential differences in communication style preferences that may serve as barriers to the mentoring process.

Although a few studies suggest that the mentoring process provides racial or ethnic minorities with vital information and access to the informal network, the process of mentoring minority protégés can be thwarted by inattention to racial, cultural, or gender factors. Cross-cultural, cross-racial and cross-gender mentoring sometimes ignites irrational fears and speculations precipitated by existing race and sex taboos (Davis and Watson 1982; Grier and Cobbs 1968; Kovel 1970; Thomas 1989). Sex taboos between white males and African American females may produce tension within the mentoring relationship. For example, there is the potential for gossip and innuendo when African American females and European American males are paired together. Similar concerns may also be involved in cross-gender mentoring relationships even though the racially charged nature of cross-racial relationships is absent. These issues are discussed in more detail in the next chapter. However, the essential point to be made here is that social constructions of face-to-face interactions between men and women and between black and white are reproduced in online environments. For example, Halbert (1999) found that online communication is a reflection of real-life communication and that instead of diminishing or eliminating the importance of socialized identities, online communication codifies them. Cross-race and cross-gender pairings require care and attention on the part of the mentor and the sponsoring agency or organization in order to minimize the adverse impact on the development of the protégé.

Privacy

Since telementoring communications occur online, another issue, virtually unaddressed in the literature, concerns the privacy of telementoring communications. Privacy and confidentiality remain a fundamental aspect of any mentoring relationships. With the growing number of warnings about thes security of e-mail, chat rooms, and other forms of online communication, privacy becomes a sensitive issue for telementoring partners. This problem becomes even more pronounced when it is realized that e-mail communications using employers' computer networks are subject to review by other members of the organization. Reluctance of protégés to probe issues of organizational problems with mentors via e-mail can dampen enthusiasm for telementoring as a way to link mentors and protégés across distance and time.

Technical solutions are available to address this issue. Mentors and protégés need to be aware of and skilled in the use of cryptographic software. Nevertheless, the legal rights of employers and sponsor organizations to open and read electronic communications have been upheld. This oversight condition, once realized by telementoring partners, can have a dampening effect on the nature of electronic communications and thus telementoring relationships.

Final Questions and Suggestions for Further Research

Several importan uestions remain unanswered regarding the quality, effectiveness, and impact of the telementoring technologies on mentoring interactions. First, although telementoring holds the promise of putting people together in relationships that might not otherwise have been possible, does the effect of distance and time depersonalize the relationship? This first question has to do with building of a sense of community in which participants feel genuinely connected to each and are able to share thoughts, ideas, and feelings. Research focused on online learning environments suggests that instructors can facilitate the development of community but this is by no means an automatic process. It involves attention to detail and caring for the needs of learners. Similarly, the nature of the relationship between mentor and protégé, generally considered to be a close, caring relationship (Caffarella and Olsen 1993), requires that mentors carefully construct online relationships with protégés so that a sense of connectedness and intimacy exists. As Bova (2000) contends, the characteristic of successful mentoring relationships in cross-gender or cross-racial situations is that protégés feel valued and that their work matters within the organization. Adult educators need to understand just how telementoring may alter the fundamental nature of the mentor-protégé relationship.

Second, do the goals and outcomes of telementoring differ from those of traditional mentoring? Is telementoring appropriate for some kinds of mentoring situations but not for others? For example, one of the key aspects of traditional mentoring programs is for mentors to smooth the way for new protégés by providing access to informal networks (Daloz 1986; Meyers and Smith 1999). Since telementoring involves relationships

between individuals separated by time and space, the problem of socialization becomes more acute since mentor and protégé are separated. Mentors can provide information about networks but may not actually be in a position to open doors or make introductions unless telementoring is used to supplement rather than replace traditional mentoring relationships.

Third, what effect does the quality and nature of online communication in telementoring relationships have on the mentoring process? It seems clear from research in other areas of online communication, for example, in online learning contexts and in computer-mediated discussions in bulletin boards and chat rooms, that gender differences play a significant role in access to and use of technology. A number of researchers have noted that skillful mentors possess good communication skills (e.g., Anderson and Shannon 1995; Collins 1983; Thomas 2001). Given these considerations, the central question is does the nature of technology affect the ability of mentors to facilitate the achievement of mentoring objectives for protégés in telementoring situations?

Conclusion

As technology's impact on everyday life becomes more and more extensive, its impact on mentoring is also becoming more widely acknowledged. Telementoring is becoming an increasingly widespread mode for providing mentoring services. Although computer technology offers new possibilities for linking mentors and protégés, it is not a panacea for expanding mentoring opportunities to women, African Americans, and other previously marginalized groups. Adult educators who are interested in exploring telementoring relationships should be mindful of the effects of race and gender on issues of communication and access. In this regard, computer technologies appear not to be a solution to problems of traditional mentoring programs. In fact, lack of adequate access, training, and experience in technology may limit the possibilities for telementoring for some groups. Some research questions remain unanswered regarding just how technology alters the mentoring relationship. Practitioners are cautioned to proceed with care in designing and implementing telementoring programs, paying particular attention to the impact of technology on the human aspects of the mentoring relationship.

Protégés' and mentors' needs and goals should drive the mentoring process, not the uncritically examined promise of technology to solve problems related to distance, access, and human interaction and communication. With the advance of new technologies such as universal wireless access and communication, telementoring may take many new forms and go in new directions, increasingly opening up the possibilities for communication across time and space. Whatever technological advances hold, however, meeting basic human needs should be at the center of any development of telementoring in order for telementoring to be a useful and meaningful application in the lives of mentors and protégés.

Diversity and Power in Mentoring Relationships

Catherine A. Hansman

Mentoring relationships, in most cases, have been unquestioningly and uncritically accepted as fundamental to foster learning in the workplace, advance careers, help new employees learn workplace culture, and provide developmental and psychological support. Many definitions of mentoring, such as that by Daloz (1986), who proposes that mentors may act as "interpreters of the environment" (p. 207), reflect the notion that mentors help protégés understand the culture in which they find themselves. However, as mentioned in the introduction and earlier chapters of this monograph, just as Athena transformed into the male image of Mentor to guide Telemachus, in the real world of organizations and educational institutions, persons who serve as mentors may primarily be members of dominant and/or hegemonic groups within organizations or institutions. Because of this, potential protégés, particularly those considered "other" by virtue of the intersection of gender, race, class, ethnicity, ability, or sexual orientation, may experience difficulties initiating and participating in informal mentoring relationships. In addition, issues of power and interests within organizations or institutions might hamper the mutual attraction that is required to participate in an informal mentoring relationship (Hansman 2000, 2001).

If informal mentoring relationships are unavailable to members of historically marginalized groups, then they may have the opportunity to participate in formal mentoring programs organized by work organizations or educational institutions. As discussed by Ellinger in the second chapter, formal mentoring programs were designed and implemented within organizations to provide opportunities for mentoring between disparate groups to occur, to achieve racial balance among executives, and to foster workplace learning. In addition to promoting workplace learning, mentoring programs may help contribute to increased profits for the sponsoring organization. "Despite the best intentions, though, many organizations have failed," claims Thomas (2001, p. 99), whose research on three major corporations shows that formal mentoring programs have failed to remove barriers to advancement for marginalized groups. Consequently, formal mentoring programs may not address the individual needs of the protégés, but instead reflect the power and interests inherent within organizations. Mentoring programs may help improve employee performance, but the interests of the organization may be served at the cost of employee or human interests (Bierema 2000; Thomas 2001).

Business organizations and educational institutions do not exist independently of the outside world. They mirror the changing culture and uncertainty of our times. Mentoring programs within these organizations reflect society; thus, they must continually accommodate a changing world. Early research (i.e., Levinson et al. 1978) and models (i.e., Roche 1979) for mentoring were based largely on white males, or it was assumed that the gender, race, ethnicity, class, ability, or sexual orientation of either mentors or protégés were not significant and therefore did not affect the quality of the interaction between mentor and protégés.

Clearly, mentoring relationships do not always provide the rosy outcomes depicted by much of the research. Gender, race, class, ethnicity, ability, sexual orientation, and issues of power may affect how protégés and mentors interact and negotiate their relationship, both internally and externally, and ultimately affect the success of formal mentoring programs. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to probe mentoring from a critical perspective, consider the problems of historically marginalized groups within mentoring frameworks while examining issues of power and democracy within mentoring programs, and finally, suggest ways of planning for and promoting mentoring and mentoring programs to enhance adult learning and development for all groups of people.

Mentoring and Marginalized Groups

Women in Mentoring Relationships

The presence of women has grown and is continuing to grow in the labor force in the United States, as evidenced by the fact that in 1996 women represented almost half of the total work force (U.S. Department of Labor 1996). Despite their presence in the work force, however, women still face "glass ceilings" that are difficult or impossible to transcend (McDonald and Hite 1998). Mentoring has frequently been touted as the way women can overcome barriers to advancement within the workplace, and early research on mentors assumed that the gender of either the mentor or protégé does not affect the development of the mentoring relationships (Merriam 1983). However, research concerning mentoring and women has shown that these notions may be problematic and that mentoring relationships are frequently not as available to women as they are to men (Cox 1993; Hansman and Garafolo 1995; Hite 1998; Ragins and Cotton 1999); or if they are available, are not as meaningful or helpful as they could be (Egan 1994; Hansman 1997; Stalker 1994). Women who have responsibility not only for their careers but also for children or parents or women who interrupt or delay their careers because of family concerns may also face problems participating in mentoring relationships. Because they may "stop in and stop out" of careers, women may not be perceived as being as serious as men about their careers; thus, they may not be "chosen" as a protégé by men or women mentors (Chandler 1996). Furthermore, sexual harassment concerns also add to the reluctance of mentors to choose protégés of the opposite sex (Hansman 1998). Other research studies uncover more dilemmas surrounding cross-gender mentoring relationships, such as sexual tension when the mentor is male and the protégé female (Kalbfleisch 1997), and gossip and sexual innuendo by co-workers about the mentoring relationship (Hansman 1998).

Even if female protégés are involved in mentoring relationships with women mentors, there is no assurance of successful outcomes. In her research on female doctoral graduate students at a major university, Ervin (1995) discusses the difficulties encountered by female protégés with women professor mentors. Protégés in her study described the ideas of success touted by most of the older women professor mentors as preaching "the same ideals as my male professors" (p. 448), of kno[illegible]ng others out of their way to achieve success, perhaps with a disclaimer that once the female protégé was successful she could

"do it differently" (p. 448). These "male" ideals are criticized by the protégés as androcentric and not reflecting the real goals of the protégés. The women mentors also seemed to have uncritically accepted the cut-throat politics at play in academic institutions without problematizing them in terms of women protégés' needs and the realities of their protégés' everyday lives.

Despite the difficulties detailed by the protégés in Ervin's research, Kalbfleisch (2000) found that from the perspectives of both mentors and protégés, "same sex mentoring relationships occur more frequently than cross-sex mentoring relationships ... further, the sex of the mentor or the protégé was the best predictor of the sex of the corresponding partner in a mentoring relationship" (p. 59). In other words, both women and men seem to prefer and be more comfortable with both mentoring and being mentored by someone of the same sex. There is also a tendency to choose mentors most like themselves; however, there are typically fewer women in higher-level positions available to mentor women than there are men available. One barrier reported associated with women mentoring other women is that, because women may have less power and influence than their male counterparts in the workplace, women mentors may be perceived as less able to propel a protégé to career success (Hale 1995) and are therefore not desirable to other women as potential mentors. In addition, women protégés may have unrealistic psychosocial expectations for their women mentors and make unreasonable demands on them for time or emotional commitments (Eldridge 1990).

It seems obvious that a single personal mentor may not be able to provide everything to his or her protégés, such as proper political connections and developmental support. As Ellinger reports in the second chapter, in recent years, other forms and types of mentoring relationships are mentioned more frequently in the literature and research. A study of women doctoral students for whom mentoring relationships with the predominately male faculty members were not available revealed that the women students formed supportive group relationships with other women doctoral students. These peer mentoring relationships provided participants with the professional encouragement and affirmation they needed to start careers as academics (Hansman and Garafolo 1995). Other types of mentoring that may provide alternatives to one-to-one mentoring relationships include the concepts of group mentoring or mentoring circles, in which one mentor is assigned to several protégés (McDonald and Hite 1998). Caffarella, Clark, and Ingram (1997) studied women in an organization working in leadership roles who had been unable to break through "the glass ceiling" through mentoring or other means. These women developed personal learning webs, including formal and informal mentoring relationships; these relationships occurred both inside and outside the organization. They found, however, that it was important to document and validate their informal learning. Inman (1998) suggests that, as women develop their careers and advance, they may find that multiple mentors are helpful in order to strengthen both individual and professional development.

Ethnicity, People of Color, and Mentoring

As hard as it is for European American women to find and form helpful mentoring relationships, women of color face even more difficulties because of the intersection of race, class, ethnicity, and gender. Mentoring for women of color has been described as the difference between "isolation and integration, failure and success" (Dickey 1997, p. 73). Johnson (1998) discusses the "unwritten rules" of an institution or dominant work culture and how difficult it is for African American women to learn them; these rules can include such things as unwritten dress codes and social norms. Johnson found that "African American women mentors are able to communicate these rules to African American women protégés without the protégés fearing the stigma of trying to sound or act 'White.' The protégé benefits from the mentor's knowledge of the culture of the organization: what dictates the politics for change, whether communication is formal or informal, and what constitutes an acceptable leadership style within the organization" (pp. 54-55). Jackson, Kite, and Branscombe's 1996 study of African American women on two university campuses revealed that they overwhelmingly preferred African American female role models, but that these women were not readily available as mentors on university campuses. They did find that if the women protégés in their study developed mentoring relationships with a relative or someone outside of the university, this relationship could buffer the impact of being a "token" minority in the university. Hite's 1998 study of black women professionals showed that they were able to experience mentoring relationships within their organizations; however, they also indicated that more same-gender and same-race mentoring relationships should be available to them.

But women of color are not the only ones who experience difficulty in developing and participating in mentoring relationships. Men of color also face challenges. For example, a study of mentoring at a public university in the Midwest revealed that a larger proportion of European American male faculty than Asian American male faculty were involved in mentoring relationships (Sands, Parson, and Duane 1992). When Asian Americans were asked why they did not have mentors, the most frequent response was that one was not available, or there were no mentoring programs in their departments in which they could participate. Asian American faculty members who were involved in mentoring relationships, however, expressed unhappiness about the power inequities and the possibilities of exploitation that could occur within the relationship, and over half indicated that they had negative experiences with their faculty mentors. Issues of power and control are clearly central to minority concerns about mentoring relationships with cross-race/ethnicity mentors.

Besides the difficulty experienced in forming and participating in mentoring relationships, members of historically marginalized groups, both male and female, also experience mentoring relationships differently than do their European American counterparts. In a 3-year research project, Thomas (2001) compared the career paths of European American professionals and professionals of color at three major U.S. corporations. He discovered marked differences in their career paths, suggesting that companies have two distinct trajectories for European American and executives of color for access to top jobs. Thomas found that European American professionals are sorted early in their careers

and the most promising proceed on the fast track, arriving in middle management and at the executive level before their minority peers. Professionals of color, on the other hand, are fast-tracked only after they reach middle management; thus the process of advancement is much slower for them.

The most interesting aspect of Thomas' research was the experiences of professionals of color who advanced to top levels. Their trajectory seemed to consist of three stages. In the first stage, many professionals of color became "discouraged, de-motivated, de-skilled" (p. 101) and plateaued early in their careers when they failed to be fast-tracked like their European American peers. But some professionals of color, those who were involved in mentoring relationships and whose mentors invested in them as if they were on the fast track, did advance to middle management. In addition to mentoring relationships, the more successful members took on continuous learning of new skills, placing them at the leading edge of the work they liked. They also developed relationships with sponsors and peers who supported them in their efforts.

In the second stage, professionals of color moved into middle management, their careers broadened, and they were more likely than were their European American peers to have powerful corporate-level executives as mentors and sponsors. Through demonstrating their competence and potential, they were able to develop "working relationships with key people in functional areas" (p. 102) who served as their mentors and sponsors. In this stage, careers of European American executives and executives of color became more similar in terms of rates of advancement. However, compared to their European American peers, middle managers of color were "twice as likely to change functions, twice as likely to take on special projects or task-force assignments, three times as likely to take a turnaround assignment, almost twice as likely to change locations, and four times as likely to report big success" (p. 103). In other words, they worked harder and their successes came at a higher price.

To advance to stage three, the executive level, Thomas described how executives of color needed "highly visible successes that were directly related to the company's core strategy" (p. 103). Successful relationships with superiors were also central in helping executives of color move to the highest level. Executives of color also reported more diversified mentoring relationships; most had "genuine, personal long-term relationships with both European American and African American" (p. 104) peers and mentors.

One of the key findings in Thomas' study is the type of mentoring that the plateaued professionals of color in stage one received in contrast to the mentoring relationships experienced by the professionals of color who moved through the three stages to the executive level. The type of mentoring plateaued professionals of color received was mostly instructional and focused on developing skills. Successful executives of color, on the other hand, enjoyed developmental relationships with their mentors and sponsors throughout their careers; in addition, they participated in mentoring relationships with both executives of color and European American executives. Mentors of successful executives of color seemed to have provided different types of developmental mentoring that was appropriate to the current stage of the protégé. Mentors took an interest in the overall development of their protégés, not just in developing their skills.

This interest displayed by mentors in their minority protégés seems to reflect discussions in previous chapters in this monograph of Kram's ideas of informal and psychosocial mentoring. Kram points out that informal and psychosocial mentors do more than just provide career support; they also provide developmental support that is crucial to helping protégés succeed.

Since much of the past research and mentoring models have focused on white males as both mentors and protégés, little research exists on the impact of traditional formal mentoring programs on African Americans. F. Harris (1999) claims that "Eurocentic models of mentoring in the literature … have persisted for more than twenty years and have been applied to a variety of minority groups, especially African American college students without any regard to their sociocultural history" (p. 230). She proposes an Africentric model for mentoring that focuses on interpersonal relationships and communalism. Her model emphasizes one's lived experiences in relationship to community while recognizing the experience of others as well. This model/paradigm is "supported by a 'collective perspective' that is static but not dynamic" (p. 232). It emphasizes the holistic mentoring process that allows those in the process to be mentored and provide mentoring to others at the same time. The mentoring loop consists of unity/collective work and responsibility, nurturing/self-determination, skill development/creativity, self-confidence/independence/purpose, collaboration/convergence of I" and "we," and mentor/mentee/faith. Although more empirical research is needed to substantiate her model, Harris claims that her model will foster a developmental process in each stage.

Cross-Race/Cross-Gender Relationships

Sociocultural factors can challenge cross-race/cross-gender relationships, and the racial and/or gender makeup of mentoring relationships affects the overall mentoring experiences of both mentors and protégés. Women may face more barriers to participating in mentoring relationships than men because they are more likely to have low status and to be "filtered out" by organizational politics than are men because of "discriminatory selection and treatment" (Koberg, Boss, and Goodman 1998, p. 61). As discussed earlier, women may not wish to be involved in cross-gender mentoring relationships because of fears of sexual innuendo, sexual harassment, and other concerns.

Women protégés may also encounter discordance in the advice offered to them by male mentors. For example, Ervin (1995) discusses her discomfort with her male professor mentor's definition of success: "to be successful … a graduate student has to crawl over—literally or figuratively, whoever or whatever stands between him [sic] and his desired goals … I was also disturbed by the definition of success that my professor offered us, and the paths he considered successful" (p. 448). She goes on to describe some female colleagues who had taken paths different from those described as successful by her male mentor, such as waiting to accept academic jobs at universities until their partners or spouses had offers at nearby institutions. Another of her female colleagues left academic life when it became clear that she did not agree with the lack of value placed on teaching at her employing research institution. These women were considered unsuccessful by the

standards of success set by Ervin's male mentor; therefore, they received little, if any, mentoring help.

African Americans may receive less psychosocial mentoring from cross-race mentors than they do from same-race mentors. People of color may perceive European American mentors as less helpful than a mentor of color (F. Harris 1999). In addition, a study by Grant-Thompson and Atkinson (1997) of African American male students found that the students rated a faculty member described as African American more credible and more cross-culturally competent than a faculty member described as European American.

As Thomas (2001) found, some cross-race/cross-gender relationships can be positive relationships. But as much as Thomas (2001) found supportive cross-race and cross-gender relationships in his study, he recognizes that there are problems with them. Potential European American mentors may hold negative stereotypical images about minority protégés and withhold needed support until the minority protégé has proven himself or herself worth the investment. This covert racism may explain why European Americans in Thomas' study were placed on the fast track based on their perceived potential whereas "people of color had to display a proven and sustained record of solid performance—in effect, they often had to be overprepared—before they were placed on the executive track" (p. 104).

Perhaps the answer to some of these concerns about cross-race/cross-gender mentoring is for organizations to address these issues through training sessions when they plan and implement formal mentoring programs. By focusing on issues of gender, race, class, ethnicity, ability, and sexual orientation during mentor training and orientation sessions, mentors may learn to understand the importance of providing developmental help and support to forge helpful cross-race/cross-gender mentoring relationships. European American mentors need to develop an appreciation for the obstacles women and people of color face and understand that they may need to be sensitive to these obstacles as they mentor their protégés. They can increase their credibility with their protégés by being more culturally responsive. Models such as Harris' Africentric paradigm of mentoring might be examined and adopted in order to facilitate more holistic and mutual mentoring among cross-race/cross-gender groups.

Power in Mentoring Relationships

Mentoring relationships can be characterized as socially constructed power relationships that are designed to advantage certain groups while disadvantaging other groups. For instance, mentors can be considered "superior" by virtue of their phenomenal knowledge and their main task could be seen as passing on to or "filling up" their protégés with this knowledge. The power mentors have and exercise within mentoring relationships can be helpful or hurtful. Indeed, the biggest paradox surrounding mentoring relationships is that although mentors seek to "empower" their protégés, the relationships themselves are entrenched with power issues. Thus mentoring relationships involve the negotiation of power and interests of all involved, including mentors, protégés, and sponsoring organiza-

tions or institutions. However, few studies or mentoring models reflect the realities of the entrenched power issues.

In describing mentoring relationships, Ragins (1997b) combines psychological and sociological definitions of power and defines power as the "influence of one person over others, stemming from an individual characteristic, an interpersonal relationship, a position in an organization, or from membership in a societal group" (p. 485). Mentoring relationships involve two kinds of power: one internal to the relationship and existing between mentor and protégé, and one external to the relationship that reflects the power dynamics of the organization. The micro dynamics of the mentor/protégé relationship are sensitive to the larger organizations in which they reside; therefore, they are "influenced by the macro dynamics of intergroup power relationships in organizations…resulting in subtle or dramatic shifts in power relations among groups in organizations" (p. 487). Protégés may learn (or not) to command resources and thus gain power within organizations; the gain (or loss) of power is reflected onto the mentor by the protégé's performance, resulting in positive (or negative) recognition among colleagues.

In mentoring relationships, mentors may exercise power through the assumptions they make about their protégé. Mentors may function within a framework of power relations that "assumes that one person knows what is best for the other, has superior knowledge and skills and is perceived as somewhat paternalistic in his [sic] interactions" (Brinson and Kottler 1993, p. 241) with protégés. For example, Brinson and Kottler discuss how faculty of color who are protégés of European American faculty mentors are encouraged to participate in service activities related to ethnic issues but are not informed of or encouraged to apply for research grants, engage in professional development activities, or participate in other academic opportunities that would help the protégé during the tenure/promotion process. Since service activities do not usually count as much toward tenure as academic and scholarly pursuits, in essence the faculty of color are not being helped toward achieving tenure in the university. This is an example of how mentors may exercise their power to guide (or not guide) protégés through political quagmires of organizations or educational institutions, reflecting the power mentors have to determine successful outcomes for their protégés.

Another important power issue inherent in mentoring relationships is that protégés will simply become replicas of their mentors and uncritically accept their mentors' and their organizations' or institutions' cultural norms and values. Protégés should be encouraged to examine critically the advice they receive from their mentors, and mentors and protégés should also explore the cultural practices and norms at play in the organizations or institutions in which they work. Especially as mentoring relationships fade, protégés should be encouraged to test their own ideas and concepts that may be different from those of their mentors and their organizations. Negotiation between mentors and protégés becomes an important aspect of fading mentoring relationships.

Traditional mentoring relationships are hierarchical, composed of one experienced person who advises a less experienced person. Freire, Fraser, Macedo, McKinnon, and Stokes (1997), in their examination of mentors and protégés, explain that in this traditional

view the mentor (teacher) is presumed to know everything and the protégé (learner) little or nothing. The mentor's role—to "fill up" the protégé with knowledge"—denies the validity of the ontological and epistemological productions of the learner and the learner's community. This is authoritarian, manipulative, 'banking' pedagogy, which negates the possibility of democracy and distorts th : lived experiences of the learners who are silenced and denied the opportunity to be authors of their own histories" (pp. xiv-xv). Freire et al. promote the idea of "democratic substance" and ethical democracy in mentoring relationships (p. xv), in which the mentor is prepared to dialogue and offer his or her insights, not through a banking approach, but through respecting their protégés, not forcing them to be passive receivers of knowledge but as a "position of agent, of cognizing subject. As such the learner is not a subordinate to the teacher or mentor, but a participant in a dialogic exploration toward knowing and understanding" (pp. xv-xvi).

Power issues within and without the relationship affect mentoring relationships. To ignore these dynamics of power is to fail to understand completely and address the internal and external influences of protégés, mentors, and the contexts in which they live.

The Future of Mentoring: Conclusion

We live in a constantly changing world that is reflected in our personal and professional lives. Workplaces no longer provide lifelong jobs; work settings are continually being transformed by new technology. As workplaces change, flatter organizational structures become the norm, and jobs are reengineered or downsized. Senior employees are being encouraged or forced into early retirement, therefore, less "experienced" employees within organizations are available to serve as mentors. Despite all this turmoil and change, however, mentoring programs are increasing in workplaces, perhaps as a way to offer some kind of security in insecure times.

So what should mentoring look like in the dawn of the 21st century and beyond? Darwin (2000) advocates the ideas of mentoring circles and peer mentoring to promote diversity and the notion of "non-hierarchical, democratic relationships" (p. 207). Her ideas are echoed by Higgins and Kram (2001), who advocate a "Developmental Network Perspective" (p. 268) for mentoring that would include multiple dyadic and networked relationships that are intra- and extra-organizational and involve mutuality and reciprocity between and among members. Gunn (1995) advocates "democratic" mentoring programs, such as that run at CSX Corporation. This mentoring program is not administered by the company's human resource department but is instead run as a grassroots program through the participation of employees. It is employee driven; the employee participants decide the goals and objectives for the program.

It seems clear that mentoring cannot be reduced to simple one-on-one relationships, and further, that mentoring relationships are not a panacea for historically marginalized groups. Nor is mentoring a politically neutral or power-free process. Mentoring programs and relationships may reflect the power and interests of the organization and not the always the interests of the mentors and protégés. Power is inherent in organizational life

and should be an ethical concern for those in a position to plan mentoring programs within organizations. Knowledge should be viewed as socially constructed by mentors and protégés in negotiation with each other and others, not as something to be "handed out" or to "fill up" the protégés. Key questions that should stay in the forefront of planning for mentoring programs include: Whose interests are primarily being served through mentoring programs, the organization's or institution's, the mentor's or the protégé's? Whose interests should be served? Can and should mentoring programs challenge unequal power relationships and institutional structures or simply reinforce existing hegemonic culture? How do those who were historically excluded from positions of power within an organization because of gender, race, ethnicity, class, ability, or sexual orientation contribute to and recreate organizational cultures and mentoring programs that do not replicate hegemonic cultures of the past?

Developing a "knowledge society" and exploiting "intellectual capital" are touted as the keys to economic success in present and future society. Critically examining the interests of organizations as they plan and develop mentoring programs is essential to developing democratic programs that are reflective of the needs of the participants, not just the interests of the organization or institution. Helping people develop their potential through mentoring programs in different contexts and in a changing world is a challenging prospect. However, adult educators and human resource development trainers who plan mentoring program can act in ways that are ethical while enhancing the personal, workplace, and professional development of all involved in the mentoring process. Organizations can and should address issues of power, race, class, gender, ethnicity, ability, and sexual orientation through training sessions when they plan and implement formal mentoring programs, helping mentors to understand the importance of providing developmental help and support as they forge mentoring relationships. Care should be taken to help mentors and protégés critically examine the cultural norms at play within organizations so that the unquestioning adoption of dated or unethical organizational cultural norms does not take place. Protégés should also examine their mentor's approaches to success and make sure they are not adopting a system of values that favors one socioeconomic, ethnic, or racial group over another, or that their mentor's definition of success is a definition with which they agree. Most essential, however, is keeping the questions of who benefits and who should benefit at the foreground of planning and participating in all mentoring programs (Cervero, Wilson, and Associates 2001).

Facing Forward: Implications for Practice and Suggestions for Future Research

Catherine A. Hansman

The Story of the Reluctant Mentor

When I first became an assistant professor at a rural southern university, I was assigned a mentor at our first department meeting. My mentor was an older white male professor who had chaired the search committee that brought me to that university. Since I was new to the department and university, I was relieved to be assigned to him since he was the only individual I knew, and he had seemed pleasant and helpful during the interview process. However, right after the department meeting, he told me that "he didn't know he had to mentor me" and was clearly irritated to have been assigned any responsibility for me. For the next year, our entire mentoring relationship consisted of one shared luncheon meeting that I initiated; the only piece of advice he gave was that since there was nothing to do in the small town that housed the university "except to eat and have sex" his advice to me was "don't get fat." Following this lunch, and this "helpful" piece of information, I luckily found other colleagues, both males and females of my own and different races, who were more helpful in their mentoring behaviors and advice. I did not bother to ask my assigned mentor for further mentoring, and thankfully, he did not offer any more "advice."

As this story illustrates, mentoring relationships are complicated and not always successful endeavors. Mentors can be unwilling and unhelpful, particularly when they are forced into positions of mentors, and protégés are then left to fend for themselves. Organizations can provide training for mentors and protégés, or they can simply throw mentors together with protégés without even telling mentors that they have to mentor. Although mentoring relationships frequently result in successful and happy outcomes for mentors, protégés, and the organizations that sponsor these relationships, problems and issues can and will occur.

In this monograph, we have attempted to acknowledge the complicated issues and trends surrounding mentoring relationships while exploring the role of mentoring in adult learning and development, examining and critiquing research concerning mentoring in the workplace and in educational institutions, investigating the role of technology in mentoring relationships, and probing the influences of power and diversity on mentors, protégés, and the organizations in which they work. Mentors, protégés, and mentoring relationships are intriguing and intricate associations that necessitate the consideration of many topics. This monograph has only begun to address all the complicated issues that make up mentoring. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to briefly discuss themes, issues, implications for practice, and suggestions for future research addressed in this monograph for adult and continuing educators.

Implications for Practice

Mentoring has the potential to affect the personal and professional lives of all involved. As adult educators plan for formal mentoring programs, they should be aware of the different contexts in which mentoring occurs, planning mentoring programs appropriate for the organizations and participants. As the story of my experience with the reluctant mentor illustrates, adult educators who plan formal mentoring programs must have some understanding of the varying contexts in which mentoring relationships are implemented and maintained and plan mentoring programs appropriate for the context and participants, paying attention to the dynamics of the relationships. For example, had my assigned reluctant mentor been asked first if he had wanted to be a mentor and agreed, he might have felt more involved and more willing to participate in a mentoring relationship.

If my reluctant mentor had agreed to participate in the formal mentoring program, he might have benefited from mentor training to help him understand the appropriate kinds of advice to share with his female protégé. Practitioners who plan and implement formal mentoring programs should plan useful and appropriate training for mentors and protégés who participate within mentoring programs. This training should include the recognition of gender, race, class, ethnicity, ability, and sexual orientation as having a potential impact on mentoring relationships. This can allow mentors and protégés to better understand the sociocultural factors at play in cross-gender/cross-race mentoring relationships. In addition, practitioners must understand the paradoxical issues of power and knowledge within mentoring relationships, that although mentors can "empower" protégés, the mentoring relationship itself is a power relationship requiring negotiation among mentors, protégés, and their sponsoring organizations. Practitioners can and should work toward planning mentoring programs that promote the social construction of knowledge, and mentors and protégés should be encouraged to participate in the planning and implementation of mentoring programs. Practitioners could also implement alternate forms of one-to-one mentoring, such as group or peer mentoring, allowing potential participants to help plan programs that will acknowledge power relationships and allow for construction of knowledge.

The infusion of technology can change and is changing some mentoring practices. What was not possible in the past, such as connecting a mentor in Arizona to a protégé in Georgia, is now possible. The telementoring models described by Guy in Chapter Three can help practitioners plan and include technology in mentoring relationships. However, practitioners must provide training sessions for all involved so that they may learn how technology has the ability to enhance but also limit mentoring relationships. Care should be taken that technology enhances but does not replace personal contact in mentoring relationships. Practitioners should also understand and account for limitations of access to technology for historically marginalized groups involved in telementoring. New models of telementoring should be carefully and thoughtfully examined before being adopted for use in mentoring programs.

These suggestions are only a few possible implications for planning mentoring programs for adult and continuing educators, human resource professionals, and others who plan and participate in mentoring relationships. Obviously, there are many more ideas that can be gained from a thorough reading of each of the previous chapters. At the heart of each practitioner decision regarding mentoring practice, however, should be the ethical questions of "who benefits" and further, "who should benefit." If practitioners ask these questions as they plan, responsible and equitable mentoring programs should be the result of their planning.

Suggestions for Future Research

As the story I started this chapter with illustrates, my reluctant mentor was not motivated to participate in the mentoring relationship assigned to him by the department chair. This touches on one of the most intriguing areas for further research concerning mentoring: investigating further the motivations and perspectives of mentors and protégés to participate within mentoring relationships, and along with this investigation, exploring the benefits and drawbacks of mentoring relationships for mentors. As Ellinger points out in the second chapter, a growing number of studies explore just these ideas in both the workplace and educational settings, but little linking among these studies has occurred so far so that findings are not shared among fields. Learning can occur when future researchers continue researching these areas and link similar studies from workplace and educational settings.

In the first chapter, Mott points out the psychosocial benefits of mentoring for both mentors and protégés, particularly as they participate in these relationships over time. However, more investigation and expansion of the research concerning the longitudinal effects of mentoring relationships on mentors, protégés, and organizations are needed. Likewise, more research that explores alternate forms of one-to-one mentoring, such as group or peer mentoring, can further understanding about these forms of helpful mentoring relationships.

An area of little research but much practice is technology and mentoring. More research concerning the impact of technology on mentoring relationships is needed, including how gender, race, class, and ethnicity affect participation and access to relationships. As telementoring, both in formal and informal mentoring, becomes more common, investigation into the variations in communication styles that may affect mentoring relationships is also essential to understand how these variations can be addressed via technology.

As I pointed out in the previous chapter, mentoring programs and relationships have the potential to promote changes to organizational structures or culture and provide more equitable opportunities for mentors and protégés in workplaces or educational institutions. More research concerning power and construction of knowledge in mentoring relationships, further analyses of the power mentors have, and better research concerning cross-gender/cross-race mentoring relationships, including analysis of power issues and

sociocultural issues embedded in such relationships, may lead to understanding the negotiations in which mentors and protégés engage in order to forge helpful and successful mentoring relationships.

Final Thoughts

There are many more issues that can certainly be addressed by researchers and practitioners, too many to include in this brief concluding chapter. What is important is that further research and practice lead to suggestions for ethical practice for adult educators and others involved in planning and implementing mentoring relationships.

I believe that mentoring relationships can be helpful for all involved—mentors, protégés, and sponsoring organizations and institutions. Mentoring relationships can be powerful and life-changing events in people's lives. However, as illustrated by the story of the reluctant mentor, mentoring relationships are not a panacea for all learning situations. Practitioners should become active researchers concerning mentoring relationships and programs, adding to the research base as they work to improve mentoring practices. Researchers and practitioners can learn from each other and share their findings to enhance ethical planning of mentoring programs.

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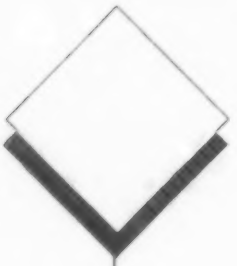

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